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LIVY

X

BOOKS XXXV—XXXVII

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	ix
BOOK XXXV	1
SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXV	151
BOOK XXXVI	153
SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXVI	287
BOOK XXXVII	289
SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXVII	481
INDEX OF NAMES	483
MAPS AND PLANS—	
1. NORTHERN ITALY	<i>At end</i>
2. GREECE AND ASIA MINOR	„
3. ASIA MINOR	„

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

LITTLE need be added to the Translator's Preface of the preceding volume. My resources, problems, aims and methods of work are essentially those there described, and no significant additions to the literature have come to my attention. I content myself, therefore, with reference to the appropriate sections of the Preface of Volume IX.

Two points, however, may be mentioned. In two important particulars the *Periocha* differs from the continuous text. Livy (XXXV. xiv. 5-12) quotes the famous conversation between Africanus and Hannibal, with some apparent doubts as to its authenticity; the author of the *Periocha* is not so troubled. The difference in the account of the dedication of the temple of the *Magna Mater* is more serious. Livy (XXXVI. xxxvi. 4) says that it was dedicated by Brutus; the author of the *Periocha* assigns that distinction to Scipio Nasica. These variations raise the puzzling question of the relation of the *Periochae* to the continuous text, but I have not found space to discuss it at length.

The ever-troublesome problem of chronology becomes more serious in these Books. Livy seems happily unaware of it, but the translator with the most modest ambitions is painfully conscious of it while he recognizes his inability to solve it. It is

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

fortunate for him as for the Romans that intercalation was resorted to before matters grew worse. I have devoted to this problem the minimum of attention.

Maps 1 and 2, identical with the corresponding maps in Volume IX, are the work of Mr. Foster.

I express my gratitude to him, as to my colleagues, Professor Adalaide J. Wegner and Dr. Nancy Margaret Miller, for assistance at various points, and to my son, Robert L. Sage, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, for aid, particularly with the place-names of Asia Minor.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

B = Codex Bambergensis M. IV. 9, s. 11.

F = Codex Bambergensis Q. IV. 27 (Theol. 99), s. 6.

M = Codex Moguntinus deperditus, s. 9 (?).

5 = Codices deteriores et editiones veteres (the most important early editions are cited by name).

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN the Introductory Note to Volume IX I tried to picture with the maximum of simplicity the semi-anarchy prevailing in the eastern Mediterranean when Roman armies first showed themselves seriously in Greece. The Books contained in that volume give us the record of Rome's first large-scale contacts with the east, her defeat of Philip, the liberation of Greece, and her effort—which seems to me entirely genuine—to retire from Greece with clean hands.

There is no pause in Livy's narrative at the end of Book XXXIV, and no Roman of that time had the opportunity which I enjoy to recapitulate and to reflect on the course he was following. Nevertheless, it seems worth while to review the results of the defeat of Philip. The independent Asiatic states of Pergamum and Rhodes had co-operated with Rome but without compensation. Ptolemy had been friendly to Rome though he had not been called upon to demonstrate his loyalty in the field. Antiochus had shown unmistakable signs of his intentions by his attacks on the possessions of Ptolemy in Asia Minor and on the Greek cities of that region and by his territorial ambitions in Europe. Philip had been defeated but had suffered no territorial losses except in Greece. These were the major components of the empire of Alexander.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Within Greece there was no longer a pro-Macedonian party in any effective sense. The liberation of the Greek cities did not prevent attempts to coerce them into joining the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues which practically dominated Greece. Athens at this period relapsed into relative obscurity, emerging occasionally as a futile peace-maker. The half-hearted attempt of the Romans to destroy Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, made him the more ready to rise to the bait of the Aetolians.

While the Achaeans remained faithful to their Roman alliance, the Aetolians assumed the leadership in the effort to unite all the anti-Roman elements. Dissatisfied with their own meagre gains after Cynoscephalae and repeatedly offended by Flamininus, who had no disposition to be criticized, their discontent was generally known, and it was clear that their best policy was to seek the aid of Antiochus. The organization of Greece carried out under the direction of Flamininus had been aristocratic in character, and the Aetolians had much reason to count on the economic inequalities which were thus accentuated and on the violent party-spirit of the Greeks. They then undertook to fuse into one organic mass all the diversified elements which for conflicting reasons wished to end Roman influence in Greece and the east generally. Nabis and Antiochus were easily won over; Philip, surprisingly, would not join them; the Achaean League remained loyal to Rome, and if there were undercurrents of party strife within the Greek cities Livy is generally unconscious of them, and the pro-Roman parties, with the help of the Romans, were successful in suppressing their opponents.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

A war between the Romans and Antiochus was probably inevitable even if the Aetolians had not taken the initiative. Antiochus had been allied with Philip against Ptolemy; he menaced Rome's friends in Rhodes and Pergamum; Rhodes was the potential champion of the Greek cities of Ionia; Hannibal was numbered among his counsellors. The most naïve reader cannot be surprised that Antiochus is the protagonist of the drama of this volume.

Whether Rome was willing to accept the part thrust upon her is an academic question. I cannot believe that she realized the possible consequences of her intervention in the larger eastern world, and the complexities of personal ambitions and internal politics made the realization impossible. Perhaps a disinterested and unambitious conqueror has at all times been an anachronism.

LIVY
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY
BOOK XXXV

T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXXV

A.U.C.
561

I. PRINCIPIO anni quo haec gesta sunt, Sex. Digitius praetor in Hispania citeriore cum civitatibus iis, quae post profectionem M. Catonis permultae rebellaverant, crebra magis quam digna dictu proelia
2 fecit, et adeo pleraque adversa ut vix dimidium militum quam quod acceperat, successori tradiderit.
3 Nec dubium est quin omnis Hispania sublatura animos fuerit, ni alter praetor P. Cornelius Cn. F. Scipio trans Iberum multa secunda proelia fecisset, quo terrore non minus quinquaginta oppida ad eum
4 defecerunt. Praetor haec gesserat Scipio; idem
5 pro praetore Lusitanos, pervastata ulteriore provincia cum ingenti praeda domum redeuntes, in ipso itinere adgressus ab hora tertia diei ad octavam incerto eventu pugnavit, numero militum impar,

¹ For the assignment of Digitius to Hither Spain, see XXXIV. xliii. 7.

² For Cato's campaign in Spain, see XXXIV. xi-xxi; for his return and triumph, XXXIV. xlvi. 2.

³ Scipio's appointment to Farther Spain was reported at XXXIV. xliii. 7; the term "propraetor" below is used to describe his status, probably informal, during the period

LIVY
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXXV

I. IN the beginning of the year in which these events occurred, Sextus Digitius, praetor in Hither Spain,¹ fought battles, numerous rather than memorable, with the tribes which had, in great numbers, revolted after the departure of Marcus Cato,² and most of these engagements were so unfortunate in result that he turned over to his successor barely half as many soldiers as he had received. Nor is there any doubt that all Spain would have taken courage to rebel had not the other praetor, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son of Gnaeus,³ fought many successful battles beyond the Ebro and so intimidated the natives that not less than fifty towns surrendered to him. These were Scipio's achievements as praetor; when he was propraetor he fell upon the Lusitani as they were returning home after plundering the farther province, laden with much spoil, while they were still on the march, and from the third hour of the day to the eighth maintained an indecisive action. He was unequal in number of
between the expiration of his term and the arrival of his successor, since no prorogation of his command is recorded.

A.U.C.
561

6 superior aliis; nam et acie frequenti armatis adversus longum et impeditum turba pecorum agmen et recenti milite adversus fessos longo itinere concurrebat. Tertia namque vigilia exierant hostes; huic nocturno itineri tres diurnae horae accesserant, nec ulla quiete data laborem viae proelium exceperat. 8 Itaque principio pugnae vigoris aliquid in corporibus animisque fuit, et turbaverant primo Romanos; deinde aequata paulisper pugna est. In hoc discrimine ludos Iovi, si fudisset cecidissetque hostes, 9 propraetor¹ vovit. Tandem gradum acrius intulere Romani, cessitque Lusitanus, deinde prorsus terga dedit; et cum institissent fugientibus victores, ad 10 duodecim milia hostium sunt caesa, capti quingenti quadraginta, omnes ferme equites, et signa militaria capta centum triginta quattuor. De exercitu Romano septuaginta et tres amissi. Pugnatum haud procul Ilipa urbe est; eo victorem opulentum praeda exercitum P. Cornelius reduxit. Ea omnis ante 12 urbem exposita est, potestasque dominis suas res cognoscendi facta est; cetera vendenda quaestori data; quod inde reffectum militi divisum.

II. Nondum ab Roma profectus erat C. Flaminius praetor, cum haec in Hispania gerebantur. Itaque adversae quam secundae res per ipsum amicosque

¹ propraetor *ed. Moguntina* 1518: praetor *Br.*

¹ The performance of this vow is recorded at XXXVI. xxxvi. 1-2 (191 B.C.).

² This city is probably identical with that called Ἰλλίπυρα by Ptolemy (II. iv. 13; cf. Plin. *N.H.* III. 11), on the river Baetia. It is now Alcalá del Río.

troops, superior in all else; for with his troops in a compact body he had clashed with a column long drawn out and hindered by the great number of its pack-animals, and he fought with fresh troops against an enemy worn out by a long march. For they had set out during the third watch; three daylight hours had been added to their night march, and the battle had followed at once upon the labour of the journey, with no time given for repose. Accordingly, only at the outset of the fight did they retain some energy of mind and body, and at first they had thrown the Romans into confusion; later the battle became gradually more even. At this crisis the propraetor vowed games to Jupiter¹ if he should rout and slaughter the enemy. At length the Romans pressed on with greater vigour and the Lusitani gave way and finally fled; and while the victors pursued the fleeing foe, about twelve thousand of the enemy were killed, five hundred forty were taken prisoners, almost all cavalry, and one hundred thirty-four standards were captured. From the Roman army seventy-three were lost. The battle was fought not far from the city of Ilipa;² thither Publius Cornelius led the army flushed with victory and enriched with spoils. All the booty was exposed to view before the city, and the opportunity was afforded the owners of identifying their property; the rest was turned over to the quaestor to sell and the proceeds were divided among the soldiers.

II. Gaius Flaminius³ had not yet left Rome when this happened in Spain. Therefore defeat rather than victory was the constant burden of the talk of

³ Flaminius had been assigned to Hither Spain (XXXIV. iv. 6).

A.U.C.
561

3 eius magis sermonibus celebrabantur; et tempta-
 verat, quoniam bellum ingens in provincia exarsisset,
 et exiguas reliquias exercitus ab Sex. Digitio atque
 eas ipsas¹ plenas pavoris ac fugae accepturus esset,
 4 ut sibi unam ex urbanis legionibus decernerent, ad
 quam cum militem ab se ipso scriptum ex senatus
 consulto adiecisset, eligeret ex omni numero sex
 5 milia et ducentos pedites, equites trecentos: ea se
 legione—nam in Sex. Digiti exercitu haud multum
 6 spei esse—rem gesturum. Seniores negare ad
 rumores a privatis temere in gratiam magistratuum
 confictos senatus consulta facienda esse; nisi quod
 aut praetores ex provinciis scriberent aut legati
 7 renuntiarent, nihil ratum haberi debere; si tumultus
 in Hispania esset, placere tumultuarios milites extra
 Italiam scribi a praetore. Mens ea senatus fuit ut
 8 in Hispania tumultuarii milites legerentur. Valerius
 Antias et in Siciliam navigasse dilectus causa C.
 Flaminium scribit, et, ex Sicilia Hispaniam petentem,
 tempestate in Africam delatum vagos milites de
 9 exercitu P. Africani sacramento rogasse; his duarum
 provinciarum dilectibus tertium in Hispania adiecisse.
 III. Nec in Italia segnius Ligurum bellum cresce-
 bat. Pisas iam quadraginta² milibus hominum,
 adfluente cotidie multitudine ad famam belli spemque

¹ eas ipsas 5: eas B.² quadraginta edd. vet.: quadringentis B5.¹ The *urbanae legiones* were reserve troops, to be employed where need arose: cf. XXXIV. lvi. 4.² The conduct of Flaminius with respect to the levies in Sicily and Africa appears to have been irregular, but there is no indication that the senate took cognizance of it, perhaps

him and his friends, and, since a great war had B.C. 193
 flared up in the province and he was to take over
 from Sextus Digitius the scanty remnants of his
 army, and even these filled with panic and terror,
 he had tried to induce them to decree to him
 one of the city-legions,¹ and when he had added to
 this the force which he had enlisted in accordance
 with the decree of the senate, that he should choose
 from the whole number six thousand two hundred
 infantry and three hundred cavalry: with this
 legion—for little confidence could be placed in the
 army of Sextus Digitius—he would carry on the
 campaign. The elders declared that no decree of
 the senate should be passed on the basis of rumours
 causelessly invented by private individuals to gratify
 magistrates; unless either the praetors should send
 reports from the provinces or their legates bring
 word, nothing should be considered settled; if an
 emergency existed in Spain, it was their will that
 the praetor should enlist emergency troops outside
 of Italy. It was the senate's intention that these
 emergency troops should be raised in Spain. Valerius
 Antias writes that Gaius Flaminius sailed also to
 Sicily to conduct his levy and that on his way from
 Sicily to Spain he was driven by a storm to Africa
 and administered the oath to stragglers from the
 army of Publius Africanus; that to the contingents
 from these two provinces he added a third in Spain.²

III. Nor was the war with the Ligures in Italy
 any slower to begin. Pisa was already besieged by
 about forty thousand men, large numbers daily
 pouring in by reason of the report of the war and in

because of the vagueness of their own phrase *extra Italiam*.
 Scipio's soldiers had been in Africa since 201 B.C.

A.U.C.
561

praedae, circumsedebant. Minucius consul Arretium die quam edixerat ¹ ad conveniendum militibus venit. 2 Inde quadrato agmine ad Pisas duxit, et cum hostes non plus mille passuum ab oppido trans fluvium movissent castra, consul urbem haud dubie servatam 3 adventu suo est ingressus. Postero die et ipse trans fluvium quingentos ferme passus ab hoste posuit castra. Inde levibus proeliis a populationibus agrum 4 sociorum tutabatur; in aciem exire non audebat novo milite et ex multis generibus hominum collecto necdum noto satis inter se, ut fidere alii aliis possent. 5 Ligures multitudine freti ² et in aciem exibant, parati de summa rerum decernere, et abundantes militum numero passim multas manus per extrema 6 finium ad praedandum mittebant, et, cum coacta vis magna pecorum praedaeque esset, paratum erat praesidium, per quod ³ in castella eorum vicosque ageretur.

IV. Cum bellum Ligustinum ad Pisas constitisset, consul alter, L. Cornelius Merula, per extremos Ligurum fines exercitum in agrum Boiorum induxit, ubi longe alia belli ratio quam cum Liguribus erat. 2 Consul in aciem exhibat, hostes pugnam detractabant; praedatumque, ubi nemo obviam exiret, discurrebant Romani, Boi diripi sua impune quam tuendo ea con-

¹ quam edixerat *Baumgarten-Crusius*: qua edixerat *B*: qua dixerat *M*: quem dixerat *Γ*.

² freti *Γ*: frequenti *B*.

³ per quod *Γ*: per quos *B*.

¹ Cf. XXXIV. lvi. 4.

² This is apparently the Auser river (Plin. *N.H.* III. 50), now the Serchio, which once emptied into the Arno near by.

³ This statement is difficult to accept, in view of the fact that the major component of his force was the two *urbanæ*

the hope of booty. The consul Minucius arrived at Arretium on the day on which he had ordered the troops to assemble.¹ Thence he led the force in a hollow-square formation toward Pisa, and since the enemy had moved their camp across the river,² no more than a mile from the town, the consul marched into the city that had without doubt been saved by his arrival. The next day he too crossed the river and encamped about five hundred paces from the enemy. From this base he defended the allies' country from ravage by fighting petty battles; he did not dare to march out in battle-line with raw troops, collected from many tribes and not yet well enough known to one another to feel confidence in their comrades.³ The Ligures both marched out to battle, trusting in their numbers and prepared to risk a decisive engagement, and, since they had abundance of men, sent out many parties to plunder in all directions on the borders of the territory, and when a large number of animals and much booty had been collected, guards were available to conduct them to their forts and villages.

IV. While the Ligurian war was at a standstill around Pisa, the other consul, Lucius Cornelius Merula, led his army through the farthest lands of the Ligures into the country of the Boii, where the war was conducted in a fashion far different from that in the war with the Ligures. The consul marched out to offer battle, the enemy declined to engage; the Romans scattered to plunder when no one confronted them, and the Boii preferred the devasta-

legiones of the year before: of. the note to ii. 3 above. The Romans, like modern commanders, stressed the necessity of homogeneity and mutual confidence in combatant troops.

A.U.C.
561

3 serere certamen malebant. Postquam omnia ferro ignique satis evastata erant consul agro hostium excessit et ad Mutinam agmine incauto, ut inter 4 pacatos, ducebat. Boi ut egressum suis finibus hostem sensere, sequebantur silenti agmine, locum insidiis quaerentes. Nocte praetergressi castra Romana saltum, qua transeundum erat Romanis, 5 insederunt. Id cum parum occulte fecissent, consul, qui multa nocte solitus erat movere castra, ne nox terrorem in tumultuario proelio augeret, lucem expectavit et, cum luce moveret, tamen turmam 6 equitum exploratum misit. Postquam relatum est, quantae copiae et in quo ¹ loco essent, totius agminis sarcinas in medium coici iussit et triarios vallum circumcicere, cetero exercitu instructo ad hostem 7 accessit. Idem et Galli fecerunt, postquam apertas esse insidias et recto ac iusto proelio, ubi vera vinceret virtus, dimicandum viderunt.

V. Hora secunda ferme concursum est. Sinistra sociorum ala et extraordinarii prima in acie pugnant; praerant duo consulares legati, M. Marcellus 2 et Ti.³ Sempronius, prioris anni consul. Novus consul nunc ad prima signa erat, nunc legiones continebat

¹ et in quo 5 : in quo B.

² Ti. *Sigonius* : t. B.

¹ The soldiers in the third line of the legionary battle-formation.

² Cf. XXXI. xxi. 7; the *dextra ala* in this case was apparently with the Roman legions : see sect. 6 below.

³ These troops were not an organic part of the legion : cf. XXXIV. xlvii. 4 and the note.

⁴ Probably the consul of 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxv. 4).

⁵ Cf. XXXIV. xlii. 3.

tion of their lands without interference on their B.C. 198 part to the risk of a decisive battle while protecting them. When everything had been sufficiently wasted with sword and fire, the consul retired from the enemy's country and marched toward Mutina, his column taking no precautions as if it was traversing a pacified country. When the Boii saw that the enemy had withdrawn from their territory, they followed stealthily, seeking a place for an ambush. At night they passed the Roman camp and seized a defile through which the Romans had to march. Since their precautions for secrecy were insufficient, the consul, who had been accustomed to break camp late in the night, waited for daylight, that darkness might not increase the terror from a sudden attack, and, although he was moving by day, he nevertheless sent out a troop of cavalry to reconnoitre. When word came back how strong the enemy was and where he was stationed, he ordered the baggage of the whole column brought into the midst and the *triarii*¹ to construct a rampart around it, and with the remainder of the army in battle-array marched towards the enemy. The Gauls did the same when they realized that their stratagem was discovered and that they would have to fight in regular and fair combat where constant courage would conquer.

V. At about the second hour the battle began. The left squadron² of the allies and the irregular troops³ were fighting in the front line; their commanders were two lieutenants of consular rank, Marcus Marcellus⁴ and Tiberius Sempronius,⁵ consul of the preceding year. The new consul was now with the leading standards, now holding back the legions

A.U.C.
561

in subsidiis, ne certaminis studio prius procurrerent
 3 quam datum signum esset. Equites earum extra
 aciem in locum patentem Q. et P. Minucios tribunos
 militum educere iussit, unde, cum signum dedisset,
 4 impetum ex aperto facerent. Haec agenti nuntius
 venit a Ti. Sempronio Longo non sustinere extra-
 5 ordinarios impetum Gallorum; et caesos permultos
 esse et qui supersint partim labore partim metu
 remisisse ardorem pugnae Legionem alteram ex
 duabus, si videretur, summitteret, priusquam igno-
 6 minia acciperetur. Secunda missa est legio et
 extraordinarii recepti. Tum redintegrata est pugna,
 cum et recens miles et frequens ordinibus legio
 successisset. Et sinistra ala ex proelio subducta
 7 est, dextra in primam aciem subiit. Sol ingenti
 ardore torrebat minime patientia aestus Gallorum
 corpora; densis tamen ordinibus nunc alii in alios,
 nunc in scuta incumbentes sustinebant impetus
 8 Romanorum. Quod ubi animadvertit consul, ad
 perturbandos ordines eorum C. Livium Salinatorem,
 qui praeerat alariis equitibus, quam concitatissimos
 equos immittere iubet et legionarios equites in sub-
 9 sidiis esse. Haec procella equestris primo confudit
 et turbavit deinde dissipavit aciem Gallorum, non
 10 tamen ut terga darent. Obstabant duces, hastilibus
 caedentes terga trepidantium et redire in ordines
 cogentes; sed interequitantes alarii non patiebantur.

¹ The phrase *ex aperto* does not repeat the idea of *in locum patentem* above, but indicates that no ambush or masked attack was planned for the cavalry.

² The manoeuvre is that known as "passing through" friendly troops, each unit moving through the intervals separating the maniples of the corresponding element.

³ Cf. xxiv. 6 below.

⁴ That is, would not permit the enemy to reorganize their line.

in reserve, lest in their ardour for the fight they B.C. 193
 should rush forward before the signal was given. He ordered two military tribunes, Quintus and Publius Minucius, to lead the cavalry of these legions beyond the flanks of the battle-line into open ground, whence, when the signal was given, they were to attack from the open.¹ As he was thus engaged, a runner from Tiberius Sempronius Longus came to him, saying that the irregulars were not holding the Gallic attack and that many of them had been killed and that those who were left, partly as a result of their exertions, partly from fear, had lost their zest for fighting. He should send in, if he saw fit, one of the two legions before a disgraceful defeat was sustained. The second legion was sent forward and the irregular troops relieved.² Then the battle was restored, since fresh troops, a legion with full ranks, had entered the fight; and the left squadron was withdrawn from the battle and the right took its place in the battle-line. The sun with its fierce rays scorched the bodies of the Gauls, which were little capable of enduring heat; nevertheless, in dense ranks, resting now on one another, now on their shields, they withstood the attacks of the Romans. When the consul saw this, he ordered Gaius Livius Salinator,³ who commanded the auxiliary cavalry, to charge at the utmost speed, the legionary cavalry to be in support. This storm of horsemen at first threw the battle-line of the Gauls into confusion and disorder, then scattered it, but without causing a rout. The captains prevented this, striking with their staffs the backs of the terror-stricken and forcing them back into the line, but the auxiliary cavalry, riding among them, would not allow this.⁴ The

A.U.C.
561

- 11 Consul obtestabatur milites ut paulum adniterentur; victoriam in manibus esse; dum turbatos et trepidantes viderent, instarent; si restitui ordines sivissent,¹ integro rursus eos proelio et dubio² dimicatu-
 12 curos. Inferre vexillarios iussit signa. Omnes cōnisi tandem averterunt hostem. Postquam terga dabant et in fugam passim effundebantur, tum ad
 13 persequendos eos legionarii equites immissi. Quattuordecim milia Boiorum eo die sunt caesa; vivi capti mille nonaginta duo, equites septingenti viginti unus, tres duces eorum, signa militaria ducenta
 14 duodecim, carpenta sexaginta tria. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit; supra quinque milia militum, ipsorum aut sociorum, amissa, centuriones tres et viginti, praefecti socium quattuor et M. Genucius et Q. et M. Marcii³ tribuni militum secundae legionis.

VI. Eodem fere tempore duorum consulum litterae allatae sunt, L. Corneli de proelio ad Mutinam cum Bois facto et Q. Minuci a Pisis: comitia suae sortis esse; ceterum adeo suspensa omnia in Liguribus se habere, ut abscedi inde sine pernicie sociorum
 3 et damno rei publicae non posset. Si ita videretur patribus, mitterent ad collegam, ut is, qui profligatum bellum haberet, ad comitia Romam rediret;
 4 si id facere gravaretur, quod non suae sortis id negotium esset, se quidem facturum quodcumque senatus censuisset; sed etiam atque etiam viderent,

¹ sivissent 5: sinissent B.

² proelio et dubio FM5: om. B.

³ et Q. et M. Marcii *Drakenborch*: q. et m. marci B: eques et m. martius M.

¹ If both consuls were ordered away from Rome, it was necessary for them to decide by lot which should return to preside at the elections.

consul urged the troops to make a little more effort; B.C. 198
 victory, he said, was in their grasp; they should press on while they saw the enemy disordered and in terror; if they permitted the ranks to be reformed they would fight again a new and doubtful battle. He ordered the standard-bearers to advance. All joined in the effort and at last turned the enemy to flight. As they were fleeing and scattering this way and that in rout, at that moment the legionary cavalry was let loose to pursue them. Fourteen thousand of the Boii perished on that day; one thousand and ninety-two were captured alive, seven hundred and twenty-one cavalymen, with three of their commanders, two hundred and twelve standards and sixty-three carts were taken. But for the Romans the victory was not bloodless; more than five thousand of the soldiers, Romans and allies, fell, twenty-three centurions, four commanders of allies, and Marcus Genucius and Quintus and Marcus Marcius, military tribunes of the second legion.

VI. At about the same time letters from the two consuls arrived at Rome, one from Lucius Cornelius reporting the battle with the Boii near Mutina, the other from Quintus Minucius from Pisa: the latter said that it had fallen to his lot to preside at the consular elections,¹ but so unsettled were conditions generally among the Ligures that he could not leave there without loss to the allies and danger to the state. If it pleased the Fathers, they should write to his colleague, who had finished his campaign, to return to Rome for the elections; if he protested against doing this, because the task had not fallen to him by lot, he would himself do the senate's bidding; only let the senate consider again

A.U.C.
561

ne magis e re publica esset interregnum iniri quam
 5 ab se in eo statu relinqui provinciam. Senatus
 C. Scribonio negotium dedit, ut duos legatos ex
 ordine senatorio mitteret ad L. Cornelium consulem,
 6 qui litteras collegae ad senatum missas deferrent ad
 eum et nuntiarent senatum, ni is ad magistratus
 subrogandos Romam veniret, potius quam Q. Minu-
 cium a bello integro avocaret, interregnum iniri
 7 passurum. Missi legati renuntiarunt L. Cornelium
 8 ad magistratus subrogandos Romam venturum. De
 litteris L. Corneli, quas scripserat secundum proelium
 9 cum Bois factum, disceptatio in senatu fuit, quia
 privatim plerisque senatoribus legatus M. Claudius
 scripserat fortunae populi Romani et militum virtuti
 gratiam habendam, quod res bene gesta esset;
 consulis opera et militum aliquantum amissum et
 10 hostium exercitum, cuius delendi oblata fortuna
 fuerit, elapsum: milites eo plures perisse, quod
 tardius ex subsidiis, qui laborantibus opem ferrent,
 successissent; hostes e manibus emissos, quod
 equitibus legionariis et tardius datum signum esset
 et persequi fugientes non licuisset.

¹ This device had rarely been resorted to in recent years. Members of the senate were chosen in order to serve for five days each, and the *interrex* (the name survived from the period of the monarchy) either held the election or nominated another *interrex*. Minucius' proposal probably had some political motive, but the facts are unknown.

² The M. Marcellus of v. 1 above. Marcellus as consul had fought the Gauls with indifferent success, although he had been granted a triumph over the Insubres and Comenses (XXXIII. xxxvii. 10). We have no means of verifying either the account which Livy gives of the battle (which is on the whole sympathetic towards Cornelius) or Marcellus' less favourable interpretation, which may have been inspired partly by

and again whether an interregnum¹ would not be B.C. 193
 more advantageous to the state than his absence from his province at such a time. The senate entrusted to Gaius Scribonius the task of sending two commissioners from the senatorial order to Lucius Cornelius the consul, to deliver to him the letter forwarded by his colleague to the senate, and to inform him that if he did not come to Rome to elect the magistrates the senate, rather than take Quintus Minucius away from an unfinished war, would suffer an interregnum to begin. The commissioners who were sent brought back the reply that Lucius Cornelius would come to Rome to choose the magistrates. Regarding the despatches of Lucius Cornelius, which he had written after he had fought the battle with the Boii, a controversy broke out in the senate because his lieutenant, Marcus Claudius,² had written privately to many senators that gratitude was due to the good fortune of the Roman people and the valour of the soldiers because the issue had been successful; but that by the action of the consul, both heavy losses of men had occurred and the army of the enemy had escaped, though there had been the opportunity to destroy it; the loss of men had been heavier since troops to replace the exhausted had come up too slowly from the reserve; the enemy had slipped from their hands both because the legionary cavalry had received their orders too late and because they had not been permitted to pursue the fleeing enemy.

jealousy, partly by political rivalry. This, however, did not prevent Cornelius from leaving him in command, although there was a hostile explanation of this action: cf. viii. 1-5 and the note below.

A.U.C.
561

VII. De ea re nihil temere decerni placuit; ad
 2 frequentiores consultatio dilata est; instabat enim
 cura alia, quod civitas faenore laborabat et quod,
 cum multis faenebribus legibus constricta avaritia
 esset, via fraudis inita erat, ut in socios, qui non
 3 tenerentur iis legibus, nomina transcriberent; ita
 libero faenore obruebantur debitores. Cuius coer-
 cendi cum ratio quaereretur, diem finiri placuit
 Feralia quae proxime fuissent, ut, qui post eam
 diem socii civibus Romanis credidissent pecunias
 profiterentur, et ex ea die pecuniae creditae, quibus
 4 debitor vellet legibus, ius creditori diceretur. Deinde
 postquam professionibus detecta est magnitudo aeris
 alieni per hanc fraudem contracti, M. Sempronius
 tribunus plebis ex auctoritate patrum plebem rogavit,
 5 plebesque scivit, ut cum sociis ac nomine Latino
 creditae pecuniae ius idem quod cum civibus Romanis
 esset. Haec in Italia domi militiaeque acta.
 6 In Hispania nequaquam tantum belli fuit, quantum
 7 auxerat fama. C. Flaminius in citeriore Hispania
 oppidum Inluciam in Oretanis cepit, deinde in

¹ Creditors had found a device for collecting rates of interest higher than those allowed by law (cf. VII. xvi. 1, etc.), by transferring the ownership of accounts to subjects of allied states, who thus became the real or fictitious lenders. The procedure was to make suitable entries on the creditors' ledgers. The legislation now adopted made such transactions between citizens and allies matters of public record (and, presumably, enforceable only when so recorded). Litigation arising therefrom favoured the debtor, and the plebiscite of Sempronius made the Roman code obligatory.

² The laws referred to formed parts of the *ius civile*, which applied only to *cives* and was enforced by the *praetor urbanus*. Cases to which allies were parties were tried before the *praetor peregrinus*, and the provisions of the *ius civile* were not binding.

VII. Regarding this matter, it was decreed that B.C. 193
 no unconsidered action should be taken; the decision
 was postponed for a fuller meeting. This was due
 to the fact that another anxiety was weighing upon
 them—that the public was burdened by interest-
 payments,¹ and that, although greed was held in
 check by numerous laws governing usury, a way of
 evasion was opened because accounts were trans-
 ferred to allies, who were not under the operation
 of these laws;² thus debtors were overwhelmed with
 unrestricted charges. When a method of curbing
 this practice was sought, it was determined that a
 day should be fixed, namely, the last occurrence
 of the festival of the Feralia,³ that whatever allies
 had, after that date, loaned money to Roman citizens,
 should make a public statement to that effect,
 and that proceedings regarding money so loaned
 after that date should be governed by the laws of
 whichever state the debtor should elect. Then,
 after the greatness of the debt contracted by this
 evasion was revealed by these public declarations,
 Marcus Sempronius, tribune of the people, with
 the authorization of the senate proposed to the
 assembly, and the assembly voted, that the allies of
 the Latin confederacy should have the same law
 regarding the loan of money that applied to Roman
 citizens. Such were the events, civil and military,
 which took place in Italy.

In Spain the war was by no means so serious as
 the exaggerated report of it had been. Gaius
 Flaminius in Hither Spain captured the town of
 Inlucia in the land of the Oretani and then con-

³ This festival was held on February 21.

A.U.C.
561

hibernacula¹ milites deduxit, et per hiemem proelia aliquot nulla memoria digna adversus latronum magis quam hostium excursiones vario tamen eventu nec sine militum iactura sunt facta. Maiores gestae
8 res a M. Fulvio. Is apud Toletum oppidum cum Vaccaeis Vettonibusque et Celtiberis signis collatis dimicavit, exercitum earum gentium fudit fugavitque, regem Hilernum vivum cepit.

VIII. Cum haec in Hispania gerebantur, comitiorum iam appetebat dies. Itaque L. Cornelius consul
2 relicto ad exercitum M. Claudio Romam venit. Is in
3 senatu cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset, quoque statu provincia esset, questus est cum patribus conscriptis, quod tanto bello una secunda pugna tam feliciter perfecto non esset habitus diis immortalibus honos. Postulavit deinde, supplicationem simul
4 triumphumque decernerent. Prius tamen quam relatio fieret, Q. Metellus, qui consul dictatorque fuerat, litteras eodem tempore dixit et consulis L. Corneli ad senatum et M. Marcelli ad magnam partem senatorum adlatas esse inter se pugnantes,
5 eoque dilatam esse consultationem, ut praesentibus auctoribus² earum litterarum disceptaretur. Itaque expectasse sese ut consul, qui sciret ab legato suo adversus se scriptum aliquid, cum ipsi veniendum
6 esset, deduceret eum secum Romam, cum etiam

¹ hibernacula *edd. vet.*: hiberna loca B.

² auctoribus *5*: auribus B.

¹ His appointment to Farther Spain was recorded at XXXIV. lv. 6.

² Metellus was consul in 206 B.C. (XXVIII. x. 2) and dictator in 205 B.C. (XXIX. x. 2).

ducted the troops to their winter stations, and during
the winter fought several battles, unworthy of record, against raiding parties of brigands rather than soldiers, with varying results but not without the loss of men. Greater things were done by Marcus Fulvius.¹ Near the town of Toletum he engaged the Vaccaeii, the Vettones and the Celtiberi in pitched battle, routed and put to flight the armies of these tribes, and captured alive their king Hilernus. B.C. 103

VIII. While this was going on in Spain, the day of the elections was drawing near. And so Lucius Cornelius the consul left Marcus Claudius with the army and returned to Rome. When he had discoursed in the senate about his achievements and the condition in which his province was, he voiced a complaint to the Fathers because, after so great a war had been so successfully finished by a single victory, no honour had been paid to the immortal gods. He then demanded that they decree a thanksgiving and a triumph at the same time. Before, however, the formal motion was put, Quintus Metellus, who had been consul and dictator,² said that letters had arrived at the same time, addressed both to the senate by Lucius Cornelius and to a great part of the senators by Marcus Marcellus, that these reports contradicted one another, and that a decision had been postponed for the reason that the debate might be held in the presence of the writers of these letters. He had accordingly assumed that the consul, who knew that something unfavourable to himself had been written by his subordinate, since he had himself to come to Rome, would bring his lieutenant with him to the City, especially as it would have been more correct to entrust the army

A.U.C.
561

verius esset Ti. Sempronio imperium habenti tradi
7 exercitum quam legato: nunc videri esse amotum¹
de industria, qui, si² ea quae scripsisset praesens
diceret et arguere³ coram et, si quid vani adferret,
argui posset, donec ad liquidum veritas explorata
8 esset. Itaque nihil eorum quae postularet consul
9 decernendum in praesentia censere. Cum pergeret
nihil segnius referre ut supplicationes decerne-
rentur triumphantique sibi urbem invehi liceret,
M. et C. Titinii tribuni plebis se intercessuros si de
ea re fieret senatus consultum dixerunt.

IX. Censores erant priore anno creati Sex. Aelius
2 Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus. Cornelius lustrum
condidit. Censa sunt civium capita CXLIII DCCIV.
Aqua ingentes eo anno fuerunt⁴ et Tiberis loca
3 plana urbis inundavit; circa portam Flumentanam
etiam collapsa quaedam ruinis sunt. Et porta
Caelimontana fulmine icta est, murusque circa

¹ videri esse amotum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: uidere se ad-
monitum *BF*.

² si *M. Mueller*: om. *B*.

³ diceret et arguere *M. Mueller*: dicoret arguere *BF*.

⁴ fuerunt *edd. vet.*: fuerant *B*.

¹ Sempronius had been consul the preceding year and no
prorogation of his *imperium* is recorded; his successor had
arrived, and nothing is known to indicate that Metellus'
statement is accurate. Indeed, in v. 1 above Livy calls
Sempronius a *legatus*. On the basis of this scanty evidence
it seems that the criticism of Merula was unjustified. See
also the note on vi. 9 above.

² Cf. XXXIV. xlv. 4.

³ This ceremony was the formal sacrifice and prayer which
marked the completion of the censors' tasks. The *lustrum*
was also the five-year period of the censors' term; it was

to Tiberius Sempronius, who had the *imperium*,¹ B.C. 193
than to a lieutenant: as matters stood, it seemed
that he had wilfully kept away a man who, if he
made in person the statement which he had made
in writing, might both bring his charges openly
and, supposing he asserted what was untrue, be
himself charged, until the truth was clearly revealed.
It was his proposal, therefore, that nothing which the
consul demanded should be decreed for the present.
When he pressed his claims with undiminished vigour,
that the thanksgiving be voted and that he be
allowed to ride into the City in triumph, Marcus
and Gaius Titinius, tribunes of the people, declared
that they would veto it if any decree of the senate
were passed regarding the question.

IX. Censors had been elected the previous year,
Sextus Aelius Paetus and Gaius Cornelius Cethegus.²
Cornelius closed the *lustrum*.³ The number of
citizens rated was one hundred forty-three thousand
seven hundred four.⁴ There were great floods that
year, and the Tiber overflowed the flat parts of the
City; around the Porta Flumentana certain buildings
even collapsed and fell. Also, the Porta Caeli-
montana was smitten by a thunderbolt and the wall
in several places round about was struck by light-

customary for them to finish their business in a year and a half
and thereafter to be inactive.

⁴ While the MSS. give the number thus, some editors
follow Pighius in prefixing an additional *C* to the numeral.
The census reported in XXIX. xxxvii. 6 showed a population
of 214,000 in 204 B.C.; in 188 B.C. (XXXVIII. xxxvi. 10) it
was 258,318. The fluctuation is so great that the emendation
is probably correct. I have, however, kept the reading of
the MSS. despite the fact that numerals are notoriously liable
to corruption.

A.U.C.
561

4 multis locis de caelo tactus; et Ariciae et Lanuvii et in¹ Aventino lapidibus pluit; et a Capua nuntiatum est examen vesparum ingens in forum advolasse et in Martis aede consedis; eas collectas cum cura
5 et² igni crematas esse. Horum prodigiorum causa decemviri libros adire iussi, et novemdiale sacrum factum, et supplicatio indicta est atque urbs lustrata.
6 Iisdem diebus aediculam Victoriae Virginis prope aedem Victoriae M. Porcius Cato dedicavit biennio post quam vovit.
7 Eodem anno coloniam Latinam in castrum Fren-
tinum triumviri deduxerunt A. Manlius Volso L. Apustius Fullo Q.³ Aelius Tubero, cuius lege
8 deducebatur. Tria milia peditum iere, trecenti
9 equites, numerus exiguus pro copia agri. Dari potuere tricena⁴ iugera in pedites, sexagena in equites. Apustio auctore tertia pars agri dempta est, quo postea si vellent novos colonos adscribere possent. Vicena iugera pedites, quadragena equites acceperunt.

X. In exitu iam annus erat, et ambitio magis quam umquam alias exarserat consularibus comitiis. Multi et potentes petebant patricii plebeique, P.

¹ in ed. *Lugdunensis* 1537: om. B.

² et ed. *Frobeniana* 1531: om. B.

³ Q. *Sigonius*: p. B⁵.

⁴ tricena *Glareanus*: XL B⁵.

¹ The Sibylline Books, as often: cf. XXXI. xii. 9 and the note.

² Two temples to Victoria are known, one on the Capitoline, one on the Palatine. Which is meant here is uncertain, and there is no other reference to Victoria Virgo. There is no record of the vow here mentioned.

ning; and at Aricia, at Lanuvium and on the Aven-
tine there were showers of stones; it was also re-
ported from Capua that a great swarm of wasps had
flown into the forum and settled in the temple of
Mars; the wasps, it was said, were carefully collected
and consumed by fire. By reason of these prodigies
the decemvirs were directed to consult the Books,¹
and a nine-day sacrifice was performed, a supplication
proclaimed, and the City purified. At the same time
a shrine to Victoria Virgo near the temple of Victory
was dedicated by Marcus Porcius Cato, two years
after he had vowed it.²

In the same year a Latin colony was established
at Castrum Frenatinum³ by the triumvirs Aulus
Manlius Volso, Lucius Apustius Fullo and Quintus
Aelius Tubero; by the law of the last-named the
colony was created. Three thousand infantry and
three hundred cavalry joined it, a small number
in proportion to the size of the tract. The allot-
ments of land could have been thirty *iugera* per
infantryman and sixty per cavalryman. At the
suggestion of Apustius one-third of the land was
reserved, whereby they were enabled later to enroll
new colonists if they saw fit. Twenty *iugera* were
given to each infantryman, forty to each cavalry-
man.

X. It was now the end of the year, and can-
vassing at the consular election was more spirited
than ever before.⁴ The candidates were many and

³ This is probably the colony authorized in *agrum Thurinum* (XXXIV. liii. 1), where the same commissioners are named.

⁴ Probably for this reason we have an unusually detailed account of the campaign and we get a clear impression of the arguments employed.

A.U.O.
561

- 2 Cornelius Cn. filius Scipio, qui ex Hispania provincia nuper decesserat magnis rebus gestis, et L. Quinctius Flaminius, qui classi in Graecia praefuerat, et Cn. 3 Manlius Volso; hi patricii; plebei autem C. Laelius, 4 Cn. Domitius, C. Livius Salinator, M'.¹ Acilius. Sed omnium oculi in Quinctium Corneliumque coniecti; nam et in unum locum petebant ambo patricii, et rei militaris gloria recens utrumque commendabat. 5 Ceterum ante omnia certamen accendebant fratres candidatorum, duo clarissimi aetatis suae imperatores. Maior gloria Scipionis, et quo maior, eo propior invidiam; Quincti recentior, ut qui eo anno 6 triumphasset. Accedebat quod alter decimum iam prope annum adsiduus in oculis hominum fuerat, quae res minus verendos magnos homines ipsa satietate facit, consul iterum post devictum Hanni- 7 balem censorque fuerat; in Quinctio nova et recentia omnia ad gratiam erant; nihil nec petierat a populo 8 post triumphum nec adeptus erat. Pro fratre germano, non patrueli se petere aiebat, pro legato et

¹ M'. Sigonius: m. B̄.

¹ The Licinian-Sextian legislation of 367 B.C. provided that one consul must be a plebeian and both might be. It was customary to elect one from each order.

² Cf. i. 3 ff. above.

³ Cf. XXXII. xvi. 9, etc.

⁴ He had been praetor in 195 B.C. (XXXIII. xlii. 7).

⁵ Laelius was the most intimate friend of Scipio Africanus. He had entered politics late and had been praetor in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxiv. 2).

⁶ He was praetor in 194 B.C. (XXXIV. xlii. 4).

⁷ Probably, but not certainly, the man mentioned in v. 8 above.

⁸ He had been plebeian aedile in 197 B.C. (XXXIII. xxv. 2). The circumstantial quality of Livy's details increases our confidence in his accuracy in the account of the campaign.

influential, patricians and plebeians,¹ Publius Cor- B.C. 198
nelius Scipio, the son of Gnaeus, who had recently returned from Spain after performing great deeds,² and Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, who had commanded the fleet in Greece,³ and Gnaeus Manlius Volso;⁴ these were the patricians; the plebeians now were Gaius Laelius,⁵ Gnaeus Domitius,⁶ Gaius Livius Salinator,⁷ and Manius Acilius.⁸ But the eyes of all men were turned upon Quinctius and Cornelius; for both were patricians, contending for one place, and recently-won military glory lent favour to each. But before all else, the brothers of the candidates⁹ increased their rivalry, since they were the two most celebrated commanders of their age. The greater fame was Scipio's, and the greater it was, the more it was exposed to jealousy; that of Quinctius was fresher, inasmuch as he had triumphed that very year.¹⁰ There was also the fact that the other had been for about ten years constantly in the public eye, a fact which renders prominent men less venerated from sheer surfeit of seeing them: he had been consul for the second time after the defeat of Hannibal and censor;¹¹ in the case of Quinctius, everything was new and fresh for winning favour; he had neither asked anything from the people since his triumph nor obtained anything. He said that he was campaigning for a real brother, not a cousin,

⁹ Africanus and Nasica were actually cousins, but Roman nomenclature is sometimes slightly vague on such points. The Flamini were real brothers, as the antithesis in sect. 8 (*fratre germano non patrueli*) shows.

¹⁰ Cf. XXXIV. lii. 4 ff.

¹¹ His second consulship was in 194 B.C., his censorship in 198 B.C.

A.U.C.
561

participe administrandi belli; se terra fratrem mari
 9 rem gessisse. His obtinuit ut praeferretur candidato
 quem Africanus frater ducebat, quem Cornelia gens
 Cornelio consule comitia habente, quem tantum
 praeiudicium senatus, virum e civitate optimum
 iudicatum, qui matrem Idaeam Pessinunte venientem
 10 in urbem acciperet. L. Quinctius et Cn. Domitius
 Ahenobarbus consules facti: adeo ne in plebeio
 quidem consule, cum pro C. Laelio niteretur, Afri-
 11 canus valuit. Postero die praetores creati L. Scri-
 bonius Libo M. Fulvius Centumalus A. Atilius
 Serranus M. Baebius Tamphilus L. Valerius Tappo
 Q. Salonius Sarra. Aedilitas insignis eo anno fuit
 M. Aemilii Lepidi et L. Aemilii Pauli; multos
 12 pecuarios damnarunt; ex ea pecunia clipea inaurata
 in fastigio Iovis aedis posuerunt, porticum unam
 extra portam Trigeminam, emporio ad Tiberim
 adiecto, alteram a porta Fontinali ¹ ad Martis aram,
 qua in Campum iter esset, perduxerunt.

XI. Diu nihil in Liguribus dignum memoria
 gestum erat; extremo eius anni bis in magnum
 2 periculum res adducta est; nam et castra consulis
 oppugnata aegre sunt defensa, et non ita multo
 post per saltum angustum cum duceretur agmen
 Romanum, ipsas fauces exercitus Ligurum insedit.

¹ a porta Fontinali *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: ad portam fontinalem B5.

¹ Cf. XXIX. xiv. 8.

² I.e., for trespassing on public lands which they had not leased: cf. e.g., XXXIII. xlii. 10.

for his lieutenant and a sharer in the conduct of the B.C. 193
 war; he on land, his brother on the sea, had conducted the operations. By such arguments he brought it to pass that his brother was preferred to the candidate whom his brother, Africanus, favoured, whom the Cornelian gens supported, while a consul Cornelius presided at the election, and who was honoured with so powerful a preliminary recommendation from the senate, which chose him as the best man of the state to receive the Idaean Mother when she came from Pessinus to Rome.¹ Lucius Quinctius and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus were chosen consuls: so little weight did Africanus have even in the selection of the plebeian consul, although he was working for Gaius Laelius. The next day the praetors were chosen, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Fulvius Centumalus, Aulus Atilius Serranus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, Lucius Valerius Tappo, Quintus Salonius Sarra. The aedileship of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Aemilius Paulus was notable that year; they condemned many grazers;² out of the fines they set up gilded shields on the roof of the temple of Jupiter, constructed one portico outside the Porta Trigemina, adding a wharf on the Tiber, and another portico from the Porta Fontinalis to the altar of Mars, where the way led into the Campus Martius.

XI. For a long time nothing worth recording occurred among the Ligures; but at the end of this year on two occasions situations of grave peril arose, for in the first place the consul's camp was assailed and with difficulty defended, and a little later, when the Roman column was being led through a narrow glade, the very exit was blocked by an army of

A.U.C.
561

3 Qua cum exitus non pateret, converso agmine redire institit consul. Et ab tergo fauces saltus occupatae¹ a parte hostium erant, Caudinaeque cladis memoria non animis modo, sed prope oculis obversabatur.
 4 Numidas octingentos ferme equites inter auxilia habebat. Eorum praefectus consuli pollicetur se parte utra vellet cum suis erupturum, tantum uti
 5 diceret, utra pars frequentior vicis esset;² in eos se impetum facturum et nihil prius quam flammam tectis iniecturum, ut is pavor cogeret Ligures excedere saltu quem obsiderent et discurrere ad opem
 6 ferendam suis. Collaudatum eum consul spe praemiorum onerat. Numidae equos conscendunt et obequitare stationibus hostium, neminem lacescentes,
 7 coeperunt. Nihil primo adspectu contemptius: equi hominesque paululi et graciles, discinctus et inermis eques, praeterquam quod iacula secum portat, equi
 8 sine frenis, deformis ipse cursus rigida cervice et extento capite currentium. Hunc contemptum de industria augentes labi ex equis et per ludibrium
 9 spectaculo esse. Itaque qui primo intenti paratique si lacerarentur in stationibus fuerant, iam inermes
 10 sedentesque pars maxima spectabant. Numidae adequitare, dein³ refugere, sed propius saltum paulatim evehi, velut quos impotentes regendi equi⁴ invitos efferrent. Postremo subditis calcaribus per

¹ occupatae ς : occupata B.² vicis esset ς : vicisset B.³ adequitare dein M: dein *spat. rel.* B: adequitare et ς .⁴ equi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: equos B.¹ A Roman army had been entrapped in the pass of Caudium in 321 B.C. and had been captured and sent under the yoke.

the Ligures. Since the way there was not open, B.C. 193 the consul began to move to the rear and retrace his steps. In the rear too the exit of the pass was closed by part of the enemy, and visions of the Caudine disaster¹ not only flitted through their minds but also appeared before their eyes. He had about eight hundred Numidian cavalry among the auxiliaries. Their commander promised the consul that he and his men would break through wherever he wished, if only the consul would inform him on which side the towns were more numerous; he would attack them and give his first attention to setting fire to the buildings, that the alarm might compel the Ligures to withdraw from the pass which they were holding and scatter to aid their friends. The consul praised him and loaded him with hopes of reward. The Numidians mounted their horses and began to ride up to the outposts of the enemy, attacking no one. At first nothing was more contemptible than their appearance: horses and men were tiny and gaunt; the riders unequipped and unarmed, except that they carried javelins with them; the horses without bridles, their very motion being the ugly gait of animals running with stiff necks and outstretched heads. Purposely making themselves more contemptible, they would fall from their horses and make themselves a spectacle to be jeered. So those who had been in the outposts, eager and ready if they should be attacked, now for the most part sat unarmed and watching the show. The Numidians kept riding up to them, then retiring, but coming gradually closer to the pass, like men incapable of controlling their horses and carried by them against their will. At last they applied their

A.U.C. 561 11 medias stationes hostium erupere, et in agrum latiore[m] evecti omnia propinqua viae tecta incendunt; proximo deinde vico inferunt ignem; ferro 12 flammaque omnia pervastant. Fumus primo conspectus deinde clamor trepidantium in vicis auditus, 13 postremo seniores puerique refugientes tumultum in castris fecerunt. Itaque sine consilio, sine imperio pro se quisque currere ad sua tutanda; momentoque temporis castra relict[a] erant, et obsidione liberatus consul quo intenderat pervenit.

XII. Sed neque Boi neque Hispani, cum quibus eo anno bellatum erat, tam inimice infesti erant Romanis 2 quam Aetolorum gens. Ii post deportatos ex Graecia exercitus primo in spe fuerant et Antiochum in vacuam Europae possessionem venturum, nec Philip- 3 pum aut Nabim quieturos. Ubi nihil usquam moveri viderunt, agitandum aliquid miscendumque rati, ne cunctando senescerent consilia, concilium Naupactum 4 indixerunt. Ibi Thoas praetor eorum conquestus iniurias Romanorum statumque Aetoliae, quod omnium Graeciae gentium civitatumque inhonoratissimi post eam victoriam essent, cuius causa ipsi

¹ Livy here turns to the Roman campaigns in the east, and for his annalistic sources he substitutes Polybius. A settlement in Greece had been effected by Flamininus after the defeat of Philip in 197 B.C., but the Aetolians had been from the first dissatisfied with the arrangements (cf. XXXIV. xxiii. 5 ff., etc.), and grasped every opportunity to unsettle the minds of their neighbours. Their activity and its consequences are described in the following chapters.

² Livy here employs a legal phrase (*in vacuam possessionem intrare*), used to express the act of taking possession of property which had no real or apparent owner (*dominus*). Greece had been "liberated" by the Romans.

spurs and burst through the midst of the enemy's B.C. 193 outposts, and riding out into the more open country set fire to all the buildings along the road; then they hurled their torches upon the nearest village; with sword and fire they ravaged everything. First the smoke was seen, then the shouts of frightened villagers were heard, and finally the fleeing elders and children caused panic in the camp. And so without design, without orders, each for himself hurried to defend his own, and in a moment the camp was abandoned and the consul, freed from siege, arrived at his intended destination.

XII. But neither the Boii nor the Spaniards, with whom war was carried on that year, were so hostile and so dangerous to the Romans as the people of the Aetolians.¹ After the evacuation of Greece by the armies they had at first been in hopes that Antiochus would come to occupy masterless Europe² and that neither Philip³ nor Nabis⁴ would remain quiet. When they saw that no movement was being made, thinking that some agitation and confusion should be caused, lest their scheming should become feeble from lack of exercise, they called a council at Naupactus.⁵ There Thoas, their chief magistrate, complained of the injuries inflicted by the Romans and of the condition of Aetolia, because of all the states and cities of Greece they were the least honoured, after that victory for which they them-

³ Philip was represented by the Aetolians as resentful at his defeat.

⁴ Nabis was tyrant or king, according to the point of view, of Sparta.

⁵ This council was held late in the fall of 194 B.C. or during the following winter, and Livy is gathering up and summarizing earlier events, preparatory to continuing the narrative.

A.U.C.
561

5 fuissent, legatos censuit circa reges mittendos, qui non solum temptarent animos eorum, sed suis quemque stimulis moverent ad Romanum bellum. 6 Damocritus ad Nabim, Nicander ad Philippum, Dicaearchus, frater praetoris, ad Antiochum est 7 missus. Tyranno Lacedaemonio Damocritus ademptis maritimis civitatibus enervatam tyrannidem dicere; inde militem, inde naves navalesque socios habuisse; inclusum suis prope muris Achaeos videre 8 dominantes in Peloponneso; numquam habiturum recipiendi sua occasionem, si eam quae tum esset praetermisisset; et nullum exercitum Romanum in Graecia esse, nec Gytheum¹ aut maritimos alios Laconas dignam causam existimatuROS Romanos, cur 9 legiones rursus in Graeciam transmittant. Haec ad incitandum animum tyranni dicebantur ut, cum Antiochus in Graeciam traiecisset, conscientia violatae per sociorum iniurias Romanae amicitiae² coniungeret se cum Antiocho. Et Philippum Nicander haud dissimili oratione incitabat; erat etiam maior orationis materia, quo ex altiore fastigio rex quam tyrannus detractus erat, quoque plures ademptae 11 res. Ad hoc vetusta regum Macedoniae fama peragratusque orbis terrarum victoriis eius gentis referebatur. Et tutum vel incepto vel eventu se consilium 12 adferre: nam neque ut ante se moveat Philippus, quam Antiochus cum exercitu transierit in Graeciam,

¹ Gytheum *Gronovius*: propter cithelum *B*: propter Gytheum *ς*.

² Romanae amicitiae *Sabellicus*: romae amicitias *B*ς.

¹ Polybius (XXI. xxxi) gives his name as Mnestas.

² In XXXIV. xxv, Livy gives the terms of peace between Rome and Nabis in 195 B.C. There the loss of the coast towns is implied rather than expressly stated.

selves had been the chief cause, and proposed that B.C. 193 ambassadors should be sent around to the kings, who should not only sound out their sentiments but should rouse each, by proper inducements, to a Roman war. Damocritus was dispatched to Nabis, Nicander¹ to Philip, Dicaearchus, the praetor's brother, to Antiochus. To the Spartan tyrant Damocritus pointed out the weakening of the tyranny from the loss of the coast towns;² thence he had drawn soldiers, thence ships and naval allies; shut up, almost, within his own walls, he saw the Achaeans lording it in the Peloponnesus; he would never have a chance to recover his own if he let pass the one which then existed; there was, moreover, no Roman army in Greece; Gytheum and the other Spartan towns on the coast would not be considered by the Romans an adequate reason why they should again transport their legions to Greece. This was said to rouse the zeal of the tyrant, that, when Antiochus had crossed to Greece, the consciousness that the Roman friendship had been violated by the injuries done their allies might unite him with Antiochus. As to Philip, Nicander tried to provoke him by a somewhat similar argument; there was also more material for his persuasiveness, in proportion to the greater height from which the king had fallen, in comparison with the tyrant, and in proportion to the heavier losses he had suffered. In addition, he spoke of the ancient renown of the kings of Macedonia and the victorious progress of that race throughout the earth. He said, moreover, that the advice which he offered was safe, whether in the beginning or at the end: for he would not counsel Philip to move before Antiochus with his

A.U.C. 561 13 suadere et, qui sine Antiocho adversus Romanos Aetolosque tam diu sustinuerit bellum, ei ¹ adiuncto Antiocho, sociis Aetolis, qui tum graviore hostes quam Romani fuerint, ² quibus tandem viribus resistere Romanos posse? Adiciebat de duce Hannibale, nato adversus Romanos hoste, qui plures et duces et milites eorum occidisset quam quot superessent. Haec Philippo Nicander; alia Dicaearchus Antiocho; et omnium primum praedam de Philippo Romanorum esse dicere, victoriam Aetolorum; et aditum in Graeciam Romanis nullos alios quam Aetolos dedisse, et ad vincendum vires eosdem ³ 16 praeuisse. Deinde quantas peditum equitumque copias praebituri Antiocho ad bellum essent, quae 17 loca terrestribus copiis, quos portus maritimis. Tum de Philippo et Nabide libero mendacio abutebatur: paratum utrumque ad rebellandum esse, et primam quamque occasionem recipiendi ea, quae bello 18 amisissent, arrepturos. Ita per totum simul orbem terrarum Aetoli Romanis concitabant bellum.

XIII. Et reges tamen aut non moti aut tardius moti sunt; Nabis extemplo circa omnes maritimos vicos dimisit ad seditiones in iis miscendas, et alios principum donis ad suam causam perduxit, alios pertinaciter in societate Romana manentes occidit. 2 Achaeis omnium maritimarum Laconum tuendorum a T. Quinctio cura mandata erat. Itaque extemplo

¹ ei ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: et *B*.

² quam Romani fuerint ed. *Moguntina* 1518: cum romanis fuerunt *B*: quam quam romani fuerant *M*.

³ eosdem 5: eodem *B*.

¹ This statement is not confirmed by explicit testimony. Technically, these cities, like the rest of Greece, were *socii* of the Romans.

army should cross to Greece, and when he, who B.C. 193 without Antiochus had so long sustained the war against the Romans and the Aetolians, was joined by Antiochus and had as allies the Aetolians, who had been at that time more dangerous foes than the Romans, with what strength, pray, could the Romans withstand him? He spoke further of the general Hannibal, born an enemy to the Romans, who had destroyed both their commanders and their soldiers in greater numbers than now remained. Such was Nicander's message to Philip; Dicaearchus approached Antiochus in another fashion, and first of all he said that the booty from Philip had become the Romans', the victory was the Aetolians'; none other than the Aetolians had given the Romans ingress to Greece and furnished them with the strength to conquer. Finally, he told Antiochus how great forces, infantry and cavalry, they would furnish him for the war, what stations for his land forces, what harbours for his navies. Then he employed a gratuitous lie regarding Philip and Nabis: each was ready to rebel and would seize the earliest opportunity to regain what he had lost in war. Thus throughout the whole world at once the Aetolians were arousing war against the Romans.

XIII. And the kings, nevertheless, either were unmoved or were moved too slowly; Nabis at once sent agents around all the maritime towns to stir up seditions in them, and some of the leading men he won over to his side by gifts, others, who stubbornly adhered to the Roman alliance, he put to death. The Achaeans had been entrusted with the responsibility for all maritime affairs in Sparta by Titus Quinctius.¹ So immediately they sent am-

- 3 et ad tyrannum legatos miserunt, qui admonerent foederis Romani denuntiarentque ne pacem quam tantopere petisset turbaret, et auxilia ad Gytheum, quod iam oppugnabatur ab tyranno, et Romam qui ea nuntiarent legatos miserunt.
- 4 Antiochus rex, ea hieme Raphiae in Phoenice Ptolomaeo regi Aegypti filia in matrimonium data, cum Antiochiam se recepisset, per Ciliciam Tauro monte superato extremo iam hiemis Ephesum pervenit; inde principio veris, Antiocho filio misso in Syriam ad custodiam ultimarum partium regni, ne quid absente se ab tergo moveretur, ipse cum omnibus terrestribus copiis ad Pisidas, qui circa Sidam incolunt, oppugnandos est profectus. Eo tempore legati Romani P. Sulpicius et P. Villius, qui ad Antiochum, sicut ante dictum est, missi erant, iussi prius Eumenem adire Elaeam venire; inde Pergamum—ibi regia Eumenis fuit—escenderunt.¹ Cupidus belli adversus Antiochum Eumenes erat, gravem, si pax esset, accolam tanto potentiorum regem credens, eundem, si motum bellum esset, non magis parem Romanis fore quam Philippus fuisset, et aut funditus sublatum iri, aut, si pax victo daretur,

¹ *escenderunt Jakob Gronovius: descenderunt B.*

¹ Livy makes no effort to report on the recent activities of Antiochus, the last mention of whom, save for the reference in the preceding chapter, was in XXXIV. lix. 8.

² This was apparently the winter of 194–193 B.C. Raphia lay to the south-west of Gaza, on the coast between Cilicia and Egypt, but not, strictly speaking, in Phoenicia.

³ In XXXIV. lix. 8 the embassy consisted of Sulpicius, Villius and P. Aelius; the last is not mentioned in this Book. Sulpicius and Villius had commanded against Philip and were frequently employed on missions in the east.

bassadors to the tyrant to remind him of the Roman B.C. 193 treaty and to warn him not to disturb the peace which he had so earnestly sought, and sent reinforcements to Gytheum, which was now being besieged by the tyrant, and ambassadors to Rome to report these doings.

King Antiochus,¹ having given his daughter in marriage to King Ptolemy of Egypt at Raphia in Phoenicia during that winter,² when he had retired to Antioch, came by way of Cilicia, crossing the Taurus mountains well on towards the end of the winter, to Ephesus; thence at the beginning of spring, sending his son Antiochus into Syria to guard the remotest parts of his kingdom, lest any disturbance behind him should occur in his absence, he himself set out with all his land forces to attack the Pisidae who dwell around Sida. At that time the Roman commissioners, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who had been sent to Antiochus, as has already been stated,³ having been ordered to visit Eumenes⁴ first, came to Elaea; thence they climbed up to Pergamum, where Eumenes' capital was located. Eumenes was anxious for war against Antiochus, believing that a king so much more powerful than himself was a dangerous neighbour, if there was peace, and also that, if war should be provoked, he was no more likely to be a match for the Romans than Philip had been, and that either he would be utterly destroyed or, if peace were granted him after he had been defeated, much that was

⁴ Eumenes had succeeded Attalus as king of Pergamum in 197 B.C. (XXXIII. xxi; xxxiv. 10). Elaea was the port of his capital of Pergamum, which lay inland on higher ground (hence *escenderunt*).

A.U.C.
561

multa illi detracta sibi accessura, ut facile deinde se
 9 ab eo sine ullo auxilio Romano tueri posset. Etiam
 si quid adversi casurum foret, satius esse Romanis
 sociis quamcumque fortunam subire quam solum aut
 imperium pati Antiochi aut abnuentem vi atque
 10 armis cogi; ob haec, quantum auctoritate, quantum
 consilio valebat, incitabat Romanos ad bellum.

XIV. Sulpicius aeger Pergami substitit; Villius
 cum Pisidiae bello occupatum esse regem audisset,
 Ephesum profectus, dum paucos ibi moratur dies,
 2 dedit operam ut cum Hannibale, qui tum ibi forte
 3 erat, saepe congrediretur, ut animum eius temptaret
 et, si qua posset, metum demeret periculi quicquam
 4 ei ab Romanis esse. Iis colloquiis aliud quidem
 actum¹ nihil est, secutum tamen sua sponte est,
 velut consilio petatum esset, ut vilior ob ea regi
 Hannibal et suspectior ad omnia fieret.

5 Claudius, secutus Graecos Acilianos libros, P.
 Africanum in ea fuisse legatione tradit eumque
 Ephesi collocutum cum Hannibale, et sermonem

¹ aliud quidem actum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: alii ut qui
 tactum *B.*

¹ Frontiers were always vaguely defined in antiquity, as was inevitable when precise geographical information was scanty and maps practically unknown. The hopes of Eumenes for territorial gains after the defeat of Antiochus were realized in 188 B.C. (XXXVIII. xxxviii-xxxix).

² The flight of Hannibal from Carthage to Syria was reported in XXXIV. lx ff.

³ The meaning of this phrase has been much debated, as has also the identification of this Claudius with Claudius Quadrigarius, who was one of the annalists used by Livy. I see no objection to taking the phrase literally, that Acilius (ca. 150 B.C.), who wrote a Roman history in Greek, was the source of Claudius, whether he be Claudius Quadrigarius, Claudius (Clodius) Licinus, or someone else. Nevertheless,

taken from Antiochus would fall to his own lot, so B.C. 193
 that thenceforth he could easily defend himself
 against Antiochus without any Roman aid. Even
 if some misfortune should befall, it was better, he
 thought, to endure whatever fate with the Romans
 as allies than by himself either to submit to the
 sovereignty of Antiochus or, if he refused, to be
 compelled to do so by force of arms; for these
 reasons with all his prestige and all his diplomatic
 skill he urged the Romans to war.¹

XIV. Sulpicius was ill and remained at Pergamum; but Villius, when he learned that the king was involved in the war in Pisidia, set out for Ephesus, and while he tarried there for a few days he saw to it that he had frequent meetings with Hannibal,² who happened to be there, that he might explore his sentiments and, if it was in any way possible, dispel his fear that any danger threatened him from the Romans. By these conversations nothing else was accomplished, yet it followed automatically, as if it had been consciously sought, that Hannibal, by reason of them, was less highly valued by the king and was more an object of suspicion in all respects.

Claudius, following the Greek history of Acilius,³ reports that Publius Africanus was a member of that embassy and that at Ephesus he conferred with Hannibal, and he even relates one conversation:

the appearance of the same story in Appian (*Syr.* 10) suggests that the actual source of both Livy and Appian is Polybius, though the incident is not found in the extant portions of Polybius. There is an additional difficulty in the fact that Scipio was not, according to XXXIV. lix. 8, a member of this embassy, but Livy has omitted much of the narrative (cf. the note to xiii. 4 above), and there may have been other embassies: cf. the note to sect. 12 below.

A.U.C.
561

6 unum etiam refert: quaerenti Africano, quem fuisse
 7 maximum imperatorem Hannibal crederet, respon-
 disse Alexandrum Macedonum regem, quod parva
 manu innumerabiles exercitus fudisset quodque¹
 8 ultimas oras, quas visere supra spem humanam esset,
 peragrasset. Quaerenti deinde quem secundum
 poneret, Pyrrhum dixisse; castra metari primum
 9 docuisse; ad hoc neminem elegantius loca cepisse,
 praesidia disposuisse; artem etiam conciliandi sibi
 homines eam habuisse, ut Italicae gentes regis
 externi quam populi Romani, tam diu principis in
 10 ea terra, imperium esse mallent. Exequenti quem
 tertium duceret, haud dubie semet ipsum dixisse.
 11 Tum risum obortum Scipioni, et subiecisse "Quid-
 nam tu diceres, si me vicisses?" "Tum vero me"
 inquit "et ante Alexandrum et ante Pyrrhum et
 12 ante alios omnes imperatores esse." Et perplexum
 Punico astu responsum et improvisum adsentationis

¹ quodque ε: quod B.

¹ This seems to refer to Alexander's expeditions to Arabia and India.

² Pyrrhus' campaign in Italy was used to show the necessity for the invasion of Greece in the Second Macedonian War: cf. XXXI. vii. 8, etc.

³ Neither Plutarch nor Appian confirms this; rather, Plutarch (*Pyrr.* xvi. 5) says that Pyrrhus admired the skill of the Romans in laying out camps: cf. the similar remark of Philip, quoted by Livy at XXXI. xxxiv. 8.

⁴ The story thus far is found, with slight changes, in Appian (*Syr.* 10) and Plutarch (*Flamin.* xxi), although the latter writer has another version (*Pyrr.* ix) in which he names Pyrrhus, Scipio and Hannibal as the foremost commanders. An important item, omitted by Livy and Plutarch but included by Appian, gives the reasons of Hannibal for

when Africanus asked who, in Hannibal's opinion, B.C. 193
 was the greatest general, Hannibal named Alex-
 ander, the king of the Macedonians, because with a
 small force he had routed armies innumerable and
 because he had traversed the most distant regions,
 even to see which transcended human hopes.¹ To
 the next request, as to whom he would rank second,
 Hannibal selected Pyrrhus;² saying that he had
 been the first to teach the art of castrametation;³
 besides, no one had chosen his ground or placed his
 troops more discriminatingly; he possessed also the
 art of winning men over to him, so that the Italian
 peoples preferred the lordship of a foreign king to
 that of the Roman people, so long the master in
 that land. When he continued, asking whom
 Hannibal considered third, he named himself with-
 out hesitation. Then Scipio broke into a laugh and
 said, "What would you say if you had defeated
 me?" "Then, beyond doubt," he replied, "I
 should place myself both before Alexander and
 before Pyrrhus and before all other generals."⁴
 Both this response, with the unexpected turn given
 it by Punic cleverness,⁵ and this unlooked-for kind

listing himself in third place. While the story is generally regarded to-day as apocryphal, the ranking as given by Livy may be genuine and represent Hannibal's considered judgment.

⁶ Scipio's final question gives Hannibal an opening which he is quick to seize, for paying an indirect compliment to his conqueror. Appian also speaks of his "delicate flattery" of Scipio. Cf. also xlii. 8 below for another tribute to Hannibal's wit. An anecdote of him preserved by Cicero (*de or.* II. 75), on the other hand, represents him as distinctly lacking in tact in his remarks about a rhetorician.

A.U.C.
561

genus Scipionem movisse, quod e grege se imperatorum velut inaeestimabilem secrevisset.

XV. Villius ab Epheso Apameam processit. Eo et Antiochus audito legatorum Romanorum adventu
2 occurrit. Apameae congressis disceptatio eadem ferme fuit quae Romae inter Quinctium et legatos regis fuerat. Mors nuntiata Antiochi filii regis, quem missum paulo ante dixeram in Syriam, diremit¹
3 conloquia. Magnus luctus in regia fuit magnumque eius iuvenis desiderium; id enim iam specimen sui dederat ut, si vita longior contigisset, magni iustique
4 regis in eo indolem fuisse appareret. Quo carior acceptiorque omnibus erat, eo mors eius suspectior fuit, gravem successorem eum instare senectuti suae patrem credentem per spadones quosdam, talium ministeriis facinorum acceptos regibus, veneno
5 sustulisse. Eam quoque causam clandestino facinori adiciebant, quod Seleuco filio Lysimachiam dedisset, Antiocho quam similem daret sedem, ut procul ab se honore eum quoque ablegaret, non habuisset.
6 Magni tamen luctus species per aliquot dies regiam tenuit; legatusque Romanus ne alieno tempore incommodus observaretur, Pergamum concessit;
7 rex Ephesum omisso quod inchoaverat bello rediit.

¹ diremit 5: dirimit B.

¹ The value of this story for characterizing purposes is evident, and it would be pleasant if we could believe it. Cf. also the final sentence of the note to XXXVII. xiv. 16 below.

² Cf. XXXIV. lvii-lix.

³ Cf. xiii. 5 above.

⁴ The apparent meaning is that the king wished to get rid of his son, but could do so only by giving him a post of responsibility and dignity, at such a distance that accepting it amounted to going into exile.

of flattery, he says, stirred Scipio deeply, because Hannibal had segregated him from all other commanders as one beyond estimation.¹

XV. Villius proceeded from Ephesus to Apamea and there Antiochus came when he learned of the arrival of the Roman commissioners. At Apamea there was almost the same debate that had taken place in Rome between Quinctius and the king's ambassadors.² The announcement of the death of Antiochus, the king's son, who, as I had said just previously,³ had been sent to Syria, broke off the conference. There was great grief at the court and great regret at the loss of the young man, for he had already shown such revelations of himself that it was clear that if longer life had been his fate the character of a great and just king would have been his. The dearer and more pleasing he was to all, the more did his death cause a suspicion that his father, believing that such a successor, following close upon his own old age, would bring discredit upon him, had, through the agency of certain eunuchs, who, by their services in such crimes, commend themselves to kings, removed him by poison. They even furnished a cause for this secret crime, that he had given Lysimachia to his son Seleucus, but had not had a similar capital to bestow upon Antiochus, that he might banish him far from his presence even while conferring a mark of honour upon him.⁴ Nevertheless, a show of deep mourning filled the palace for some days, and the Roman ambassador, not to be an inconvenient visitor at an inopportune time, withdrew to Pergamum. The king gave up the war that he had undertaken and returned to Ephesus. There, while the palace was closed during the

A.U.C.
561

Ibi per luctum regia clausa cum Minnione quodam,
qui princeps amicorum eius erat, secreta consilia
8 agitavit. Minnio, ignarus omnium externorum vires-
que aestimans regis ex rebus in Syria aut Asia gestis,
non causa modo superiorem esse Antiochum, quod
nihil aequi postularent Romani, sed bello quoque
9 superaturum credebat. Fugienti regi disceptationem
cum legatis, seu iam experto eam minus prosperam
seu maerore recenti confuso, professus Minnio se
quae pro causa essent dicturum persuasit, ut a
Pergamo accerserentur legati.

XVI. Iam convaluerat Sulpicius; itaque ambo
Ephesum venerunt. Rex a Minnione excusatus,
2 et absente eo agi res coepta est. Ibi praeparata
oratione Minnio "Specioso titulo" inquit "uti vos,
Romani, Graecarum civitatum liberandarum video,
sed facta vestrae orationi non conveniunt, et aliud
3 Antiocho iuris statuitis,¹ alio ipsi utimini. Qui
enim magis Zmyrnaei Lampsacenique Graeci sunt
quam Neapolitani et Regini et Tarentini, a quibus
stipendium, a quibus naves ex foedere exigitis?
4 Cur Syracusas atque in alias Siciliae Graecas urbes
praetorem quotannis cum imperio et virgis et securi-
bus mittitis? Nihil aliud profecto dicatis quam
5 armis superatis vos iis has leges imposuisse. Eandem
de Zmyrna, Lampsaco civitatibusque, quae Ioniae

¹ statuitis *Jakob Gronovius*: statuistis *Br.*

¹ The argument of the Macedonian ambassadors in XXXI.
xxix should be compared.

mourning, the king continued secretly plotting with one Minnio, who was the chief of his friends. Minnio, who was totally unacquainted with foreign affairs, and who judged the king's strength from events occurring in Syria or Asia, believed that Antiochus not only had a better cause, since the Roman demands were in no wise fair, but would conquer in war as well. When the king shunned a meeting with the commissioners, whether he had already found this debate unprofitable or because he was confused in mind by his recent grief, Minnio convinced him that he would say whatever was appropriate to the situation and that the commissioners should be summoned from Pergamum.

XVI. Sulpicius had now recovered, and so both came to Ephesus. Minnio apologized for the king's inability to be present, and in his absence the discussion began. Then Minnio opened the debate with a prepared speech. "I see, Romans," he said, "that you employ the plausible pretext of liberating Greek states, but your actions are inconsistent with your words, and you lay down one rule of conduct for Antiochus but yourselves follow another. For how are the people of Zmyrna and Lampsacus more Greek than the men of Naples or Rhegium or Tarentum, from whom you exact tribute, from whom you exact ships in accordance with treaty-stipulations? Why do Syracuse and other Greek cities of Sicily receive every year a praetor with the *imperium* and the rods and axes? Assuredly you make no other assertion than that you have imposed these conditions upon cities that have been conquered in battle.¹ Learn from Antiochus that the case is the same with Zmyrna and Lampsacus

B.C. 193

A.U.C.
561

aut Aeolidis sunt, causam ab Antiocho accipite.
 6 Bello superatas a maioribus, stipendiarias ac vectigales
 factas in antiquum ius¹ repetit; itaque ad haec ei
 responderi velim, si ex aequo disceptatur et non
 7 belli causa quaeritur." Ad ea Sulpicius "Fecit
 verecunde" inquit "Antiochus, qui, si alia pro causa
 eius non erant quae dicerentur quemlibet ista quam
 8 se dicere maluit. Quid enim simile habet civitatum
 earum quas comparasti causa? Ab Reginis et Nea-
 politanis et Tarentinis, ex quo in nostram venerunt
 potestatem, uno et perpetuo tenore iuris, semper
 usurpato, numquam intermisso, quae ex foedere
 9 debent exigimus. Potesne tandem dicere ut ii
 populi non per se, non per alium quemquam foedus
 10 mutaverint, sic Asiae civitates, ut semel venere in
 maiorum Antiochi potestatem, in perpetua posses-
 sione regni vestri permansisse, et non alias earum in
 Philippi, alias in Ptolomaei fuisse potestate, alias
 per multos annos nullo ambigente libertatem usur-
 11 passe? Nam si, quod² aliquando servierunt, tem-
 porum iniquitate pressi, ius post tot saecula ad-
 serendi eos in servitutem faciet, quid abest quin
 12 actum nihil nobis sit, quod a Philippo liberavimus
 Graeciam, et repetant posteri eius Corinthum Chal-
 cidem Demetriadem et Thessalorum totam gentem?
 13 Sed quid ego causam civitatum ago, quam ipsis

¹ in antiquum ius *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: antiochum *B.*² quod 5: qui *B.*

and the cities which are in Ionia or Aeolis. Con- B.C. 193
 quered in war by his forefathers¹ and made tributaries
 and vassals, he restores them to their ancient status;
 therefore I wish that he be answered on these
 points, if this is a discussion based on equity and
 not a search for a pretext for war." To this Sulpicius
 replied: "Antiochus has acted modestly, who, if
 there is nothing else to be said on his behalf, has
 preferred that anyone else should say this rather
 than himself. What likeness is there in the status
 of the states which you have mentioned? From
 the people of Rhegium and Naples and Tarentum
 we demand what they owe in accordance with the
 treaty from the time they came under our sove-
 reignty, with one unbroken continuity of right,
 always recognized, never interrupted. Pray, can
 you say that as those peoples have changed the
 treaty neither through themselves nor through any-
 one else, so the Asian cities, when once they came
 into the possession of Antiochus' forefathers, have
 remained in the continuous possession of your em-
 pire, and that some have not passed under the
 power of Philip, some into the hands of Ptolemy,
 and some have enjoyed liberty with none to challenge
 them? For if the fact that they have once been
 slaves, constrained by the injustice of the times, is
 to confer the right of reasserting control and forcing
 them into slavery after so many generations, how
 does this differ from saying that our labours have
 been fruitless, in that we have freed Greece from
 Philip and that his descendants may again demand
 Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and the whole state of
 the Thessalians? But why do I plead the cause of

¹ See the note to sect. 13 below.

A.U.C.
561

agentibus et nos et regem ipsum cognoscere aequius est? "

XVII. Vocari deinde civitatum legationes iussit, praeparatas iam ante et instructas ab Eumene, qui, quantumcumque virium Antiocho decessisset, suo
2 id accessurum regno ducebat. Admissi plures, dum suas quisque nunc querellas, nunc postulationes inserit, et aequa iniquis miscent, ex disceptatione altercationem fecerunt. Itaque nec remissa ulla re nec impetrata, aequae ac venerant, omnium incerti legati Romam redierunt.

3 Rex dimissis iis consilium de bello Romano habuit. Ibi alius alio ferocius quia, quo quisque asperius ad-
4 versus Romanos locutus esset, eo spes gratiae maior erat, alius superbiam postulatorum increpare, tamquam Nabidi victo, sic Antiocho, maximo Asiae
5 regum, imponentium leges; quamquam Nabidi tamen dominationem in patria sua et patria Lacedae-
6 mone ¹ remissam, Antiocho si Zmyrna et Lampsacus
7 imperata faciant, indignum videri; alii parvas et

¹ patria Lacedaemone *Madvig*: patriam lacedaemonem B.

¹ While there is a manifest fallacy in the argument, from our standpoint, it is sound from the Roman view-point. Roman law recognized *possessio*, the unchallenged occupancy of property for a certain definite period (cf. the note to xii. 2 above), as a means of acquiring a good title to it. The Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, once conquered, had never effectively established their independence or transferred their allegiance to another state, i.e. had never challenged Roman *possessio*. Zmyrna, Lampsacus, Miletus, Ephesus, and other cities on the coast had at various times effectively asserted their independence or transferred their allegiance after their conquest by Seleucus about 281 B.C.: cf. XXXIII. xxxviii-xl. They had therefore challenged the *possessio* of Antiochus, and this partially accidental circumstance constitutes the basis

these cities, which it is fairer that both we and the king should learn from their own pleadings? " ^{B.C. 193} ¹

XVII. He then ordered the embassies of the cities to be summoned, which had previously been made ready and coached by Eumenes, who considered that in whatsoever degree the strength of Antiochus was diminished, by so much his own power would be increased. These embassies, being admitted in great numbers, while each one brought in now its own complaints, now its demands, and all mingled the just with the unjust, converted the meeting from an orderly debate into a wrangle. And so, with nothing conceded or gained, just as they had come, the ambassadors, uncertain of everything, returned to Rome.

When they had been dismissed the king held a council regarding the Roman war. There each tried to outdo the other in violence, since each thought that he would win greater favour in proportion to the severity of his attitude towards the Romans, while others assailed the insolence of their demands, seeing that they were imposing terms upon Antiochus the supreme monarch of Asia, just as upon the conquered Nabis; and yet to Nabis had been left the control in his own homeland and in the country of Lacedaemon; while in the case of Antiochus it seemed monstrous should Zmyrna and Lampsacus do his bidding; others argued that these

for the distinction. A non-Roman might not accept the premise. Sulpicius is clear-headed enough to see that the acceptance of the position adopted by Antiochus would jeopardize the liberation of Greece, for if Rome granted to the successors of Seleucus the right of reconquest she would be compelled to grant it also to the successors of Philip, and this would undo her work in Greece and threaten her ascendancy.

A.U.C.
561

vix dictu dignas belli causas tanto regi eas civitates esse; sed initium semper a parvis¹ iniusta imperandi fieri, nisi crederent Persas, cum aquam terramque ab Lacedaemoniis petierint, gleba terrae et haustu aquae eguisse. Per similem temptationem a² Romanis de duabus civitatibus agi; sed³ alias civitates, simul duas iugum exuisse vidissent, ad liberatorem populum defecturas. Si non libertas servitute potior sit, tamen omni⁴ praesenti statu spem cuique novandi res suas blandiorem esse.

XVIII. Alexander Acarnan in consilio erat; Philippi quondam amicus, nuper relicto eo secutus opulentiorem regiam Antiochi et tamquam peritus Graeciae nec ignarus Romanorum in eum gradum amicitiae regis ut consiliis quoque arcanis interesset acceptus erat. Is, tamquam non utrum bellandum esset necne consuleretur, sed ubi et qua ratione bellum gereretur, victoriam se haud dubiam⁵ proponere animo adfirmabat,⁶ si in Europam transisset rex et in aliqua Graeciae parte sedem bello cepisset. Iam primum Aetolos, qui umbilicum Graeciae incoherent, in armis eum inventurum, antesignanos ad asperrima quaeque belli paratos; in duobus velut cornibus Graeciae, Nabim a Peloponneso concitatu-

¹ a parvis ε: semper parvis B.

² a J. F. Gronovius: om. B.

³ sed Crévier: et Bε.

⁴ omni Gelenius: omnem B.

⁵ dubiam ε: dubie B.

⁶ adfirmabat ε: firmabat B.

¹ These were the conventional symbols of submission, demanded by the Persians, to whom the Seleucid kings regarded themselves as successors.

² *Servitus* here, as elsewhere, does not necessarily imply personal slavery, but only the political subordination of one

states were of small importance and scarcely worthy of mention as causes of war for so great a king; but always the beginnings of tyrannical rule were small, unless one believed that the Persians, when they demanded water and earth from the Spartans,¹ actually needed a clod of soil or a sip of water. A like experiment the Romans were attempting in the case of the two cities; but other states, once they saw these two throwing off the yoke, would revolt to the people that would set them free. If liberty was not preferable to slavery,² nevertheless, no existing situation was so attractive to anyone as the hope of a change of circumstances.

XVIII. Alexander the Acarnanian was present at this council; he had once been the friend of Philip, but lately had left him and attached himself to the more flourishing court of Antiochus and, as a man well acquainted with Greece and not without knowledge of the Romans, had advanced so far in the friendship of the king that he was accepted as a member even of secret councils. He, as if the question were not whether there should be war or no, but where and in what fashion the war should be conducted, asserted that he foresaw in his mind a certain victory if the king should have crossed to Europe and fixed the seat of hostilities in some part of Greece. Even now, at the beginning, he would find the Aetolians, who dwelt in the navel of Greece, in arms, advanced troops ready for the utmost hardships; on the two wings of Greece, so to speak, Nabim from the Pelo-

community to another. The speaker here suggests that campaigns for "liberty" might be nothing but attempts at revolution for the sake of revolution and without reference to the status from which escape is sought.

rum omnia, repetentem Argivorum urbem, repetentem
 6 maritimas civitates, quibus eum depulsum Romani
 Lacedaemonis muris inclusissent, a Macedonia
 Philippum, ubi primum bellicum cani audisset, arma
 capturum: nosse se spiritus eius, nosse animum;
 scire ferarum modo, quae claustris aut vinculis
 teneantur, ingentes iam diu iras eum in pectore
 7 volvere; meminisse etiam se, quotiens in bello
 precari omnes deos solitus sit ut Antiochum sibi
 darent adiutorem; cuius voti si compos nunc fiat,
 8 nullam moram rebellandi facturum. Tantum non
 cunctandum nec cessandum esse: in eo enim
 victoriam verti si et loca opportuna et socii praeoc-
 cuparentur. Hannibalem quoque sine mora mittend-
 um in Africam esse ad distringendos¹ Romanos.

XIX. Hannibal non adhibitus est in consilium,
 propter colloquia cum Villio suspectus regi et in
 nullo postea honore habitus. Primo eam contumeliam
 2 tacitus tulit; deinde melius esse ratus et percunctari
 causam repentinae alienationis et purgare se, tempore
 apto quaesita simpliciter iracundiae causa auditaque
 3 "pater Hamilcar" inquit "Antioche, parvum ad-
 modum me, cum sacrificaret, altaribus admotum
 iureiurando adegit numquam amicum fore populi
 4 Romani. Sub hoc sacramento sex et triginta annos
 militavi; hoc me in pace patria mea expulit; hoc
 patria extorrem in tuam regiam adduxit; hoc duce,

¹ distringendos *ed. Mediolanensis* 1505: destringendos *B.*

¹ Alexander may have forgotten that Hannibal had been banished from Carthage; he may also have meant that his presence would rouse the people to recall him, or that he would overawe his enemies with troops furnished by Antiochus.

² The same computation is found in XXX. xxxvii. 9.

ponnesus would cause universal confusion, trying to B.C. 193
 recover the city of the Argives, trying to recover the
 coast towns from which the Romans had ousted him
 when they shut him up within the walls of Lace-
 daemon; from Macedonia Philip, the moment he heard
 the trumpet sound, would take up arms; he was ac-
 quainted with his high spirits and with his temper;
 he knew that like wild beasts which were confined in
 cages or by chains he had long been turning over in
 his mind wild passions; he himself, moreover, recalled
 how often in the war Philip had been wont to
 pray to the gods that they would grant him Antiochus
 as an ally; if now he should attain the fulfilment of
 his prayer, he would delay not one instant in rebelling.
 Only let there be no delay or hesitation, for victory
 turned upon the question whether suitable ground
 and allies were secured in advance. Hannibal too
 should be sent to Africa without delay in order to
 distract the Romans.¹

XIX. Hannibal had not been invited to this council,
 being an object of suspicion to the king on account
 of his conferences with Villius, and being held in no
 honour after that. At first he endured this humilia-
 tion in silence; then, thinking that it was better both
 to inquire the reason for this sudden change of
 attitude and to clear himself, he chose a suitable
 time and frankly asked the reason for the king's
 anger, and having heard it, he said, "My father
 Hamilcar, Antiochus, led me, still a little boy, to the
 altar when he was sacrificing and bound me by an
 oath never to be a friend to the Roman people.
 Under this oath I fought for six and thirty years²;
 this oath drove me from my fatherland in time of
 peace; it brought me, an exile from my home, to

A.U.C.
561

si tu spem meam destitueris, ubicumque vires, ubi
arma esse sciam, inveniam, toto orbe terrarum
5 quaerens, aliquos Romanis hostes. Itaque si quibus
tuorum meis criminibus apud te crescere libet, aliam
6 materiam crescendi ex me quaerant. Odi¹ odioque
sum Romanis. Id me verum dicere pater Hamilcar
et dii testes sunt. Proinde cum de bello Romano
cogitabis, inter primos amicos Hannibalem habeto;
si qua res te ad pacem compellet, in id consilium
7 alium, cum quo deliberes, quaerito." Non movit
modo talis oratio regem, sed etiam reconciliavit
Hannibali. Ex consilio ita discessum est ut bellum
gereretur.

A.U.C.
562

XX. Romae destinabant quidem sermonibus hos-
tem Antiochum, sed nihildum ad id bellum praeter
2 animos parabant. Consulibus ambobus Italia² pro-
vincia decreta est ita ut inter se compararent sorti-
3 rentur uter comitiis eius anni praeesset; ad utrum
ea non pertineret cura, ut paratus esset si quo eum
4 extra Italiam opus esset ducere legiones. Huic
consuli permissum ut duas legiones scriberet novas
et socium Latini nominis viginti milia et equites octin-
5 gentos; alteri consuli duae legiones decretae quas
L. Cornelius consul superioris anni habuisset, et
socium ac Latini nominis ex eodem exercitu quin-
6 decim milia et equites quingenti. Q. Minucio cum

¹ odi ed. Frobeniana 1535: om. B⁵.

² Italia 5: ita B.

¹ The scene now changes to Rome, and the annalists are more consistently employed as sources.

² These are the consuls whose election was reported at x. 10 above.

³ This action was due to the anticipation that war with Antiochus would soon come.

your court; with it as my guiding principle, if you B.C. 193
disappoint my hopes, wherever I know that strength
and arms are found, searching throughout the whole
earth, I shall find some enemies of the Romans. And
so, whoever of your courtiers have a fancy to win
favour with you by insinuations against me, let
them choose another means of winning it at my
expense. I hate and am hateful to the Romans.
That I speak the truth my father Hamilcar and the
gods are witnesses. So long as you plan concerning
a war on Rome, consider Hannibal among your first
friends; if anything inclines you towards peace, seek
for that advice some other man with whom to
consult." This speech not only convinced the king
but reconciled him to Hannibal. The council broke
up with the decision that war should be begun.

XX. At Rome,¹ in talk at least, they had no B.C. 193
thoughts except for Antiochus as their enemy, but
as yet there were no preparations for war except in
their minds. To both consuls² Italy was decreed as
a province, with the qualification that they should
arrange between themselves or decide by lot which
should preside at the elections that year; the one
to whom that responsibility did not fall should be
prepared to lead the legions outside of Italy if any
need should arise anywhere.³ This consul was
authorized to recruit two new legions and, from the
allies of the Latin confederacy, twenty thousand
infantry and eight hundred cavalry; to the other
consul were assigned the two legions which Lucius
Cornelius, consul of the preceding year, had com-
manded and, of the allies of the Latin confederacy
from the same army, fifteen thousand infantry and
five hundred cavalry. In the case of Quintus

A.U.C.
562

exercitu, quem in Liguribus habebat, prorogatum imperium; additum, in supplementum ut quattuor milia peditum Romanorum scriberentur, centum quinquaginta equites, et sociis eodem quinque milia peditum imperarentur, ducenti quinquaginta equites.

7 Cn. Domitio extra Italiam quo senatus censuisset provincia evenit, L. Quinctio Gallia et comitia

8 habenda. Praetores¹ deinde provincias sortiti, M. Fulvius Centumalus urbanam, L. Scribonius Libo peregrinam, L. Valerius Tappo Siciliam, Q. Salonius Sarra Sardiniam, M. Baebius Tamphilus Hispaniam citeriorem, A. Atilius Serranus ulteriorem.

9 Sed his duobus primum senatus consulto, deinde plebei etiam scito permutatae provinciae sunt:

10 Atilio classis et Macedonia, Baebio Brutti decreti.

11 Flaminio Fulvioque in Hispaniis prorogatum imperium. Atilio in Bruttios duae legiones decretae quae priore anno urbanae fuissent, et ut sociis eodem milia peditum quindecim imperarentur et quingenti

12 equites. Baebius Tamphilus triginta naves quinqueres facere iussus et ex navalibus veteres deducere si quae utiles essent, et scribere navales socios; et consulibus imperatum, ut ei² duo milia socium ac Latini nominis et mille Romanos darent

13 pedites. Hi duo praetores et duo exercitus, terrestres navalisque, adversus Nabim aperte iam oppugnantem

14 socios populi Romani dicebantur parari; ceterum

¹ habenda. Praetores *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: habita praetores B.

² ut ei *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: uti B.

¹ The procedure is not clear. Perhaps the senate induced the tribunes to introduce the corrective measure.

² The names of Baebius and Atilius have been interchanged.

Minucius, along with the army which he had in *B.C. 192* Liguria, his *imperium* was prolonged; it was added that as reinforcements four thousand Roman infantry should be enlisted and one hundred and fifty cavalry, and the allies were ordered to furnish the same general with five thousand infantry and two hundred and fifty cavalry. Gnaeus Domitius received from the lot a province outside Italy, wherever the senate should decree; to Lucius Quinctius fell Gaul and the holding of the elections. The praetors then drew for their provinces, and Marcus Fulvius Centumalus received the urban jurisdiction, Lucius Scribonius Libo that between citizens and aliens, Lucius Valerius Tappo Sicily, Quintus Salonius Sarra Sardinia, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus Hither Spain, Aulus Atilius Serranus Farther Spain. But the provinces of these two were changed first by the senate and then by vote of the people also: to Atilius the fleet and Macedonia were assigned, to Baebius the Brutti.¹ The *imperium* of Flaminius and Fulvius in the Spanish provinces was prolonged. To Atilius² for service among the Brutti were assigned the two legions which had been in reserve the year before, and it was ordered that the allies should furnish him with fifteen thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. Baebius Tamphilus was directed to build thirty quinqueres and to launch from the dockyards whatever old ships were seaworthy, and to enlist naval allies; the consuls were also directed to turn over to him two thousand allies of the Latin confederacy and one thousand Roman infantry. These two praetors and two armies, on land and sea, were prepared, it was said, to operate against Nabis, who was now openly attacking the allies of the Roman

A.U.C.
562

legati ad Antiochum missi expectabantur, et priusquam ii redissent, vetuerat Cn. Domitium consulem senatus¹ discedere ab urbe.

XXI. Praetoribus Fulvio et Scribonio, quibus ut ius dicerent Romae provincia erat, negotium datum, ut praeter eam classem, cui Baebius praefuturus erat, centum quinqueremes pararent.²

- 2 Priusquam consul praetoresque in provincias profiscerentur, supplicatio fuit prodigiorum causa.
3 Capram sex haedos uno fetu edidisse ex Piceno nuntiatum est et Arreti puerum natum unimanum,
4 Amiterni terram pluvisse, Formiis portam murumque de caelo tacta et, quod maxime terrebat, consulis³ Cn. Domiti bovem locutum "Roma, cave tibi." Ceterorum prodigiorum causa supplicatum est; bovem cum cura servari aliqui haruspices iusserunt. Tiberis infestiore quam priore anno⁴ impetu illatus urbi duos pontes, aedificia multa,
6 maxime circa Flumentanam portam, evertit. Saxum ingens, sive imbribus seu motu terrae leniore quam ut alioqui sentiretur, labefactatum in vicum Iugarium ex Capitolio procidit et multos oppressit. In agris passim inundatis pecua ablata, villarum strages facta est.

- 7 Priusquam L. Quinctius consul⁵ in provinciam perveniret, Q. Minucius in agro Pisano cum Liguribus

¹ consulem senatus ς : senatus consulem B.

² pararent ς : pararentur B.

³ consulis *Pighius*: consulem ς : om. B.

⁴ anno *T. Faber*: om. B.

⁵ consul ς : procos. B.

¹ Cf. xiii. 1 above.

² These were the *pons Fabricius*, from the left bank to the island, and the *pons Cestius*, from the island to the right bank.

people¹; but the ambassadors sent to Antiochus B.C. 193 were awaited, and in the expectation of their return the senate had forbidden the consul Gnaeus Domitius to leave the City.

XXI. The praetors Fulvius and Scribonius, to whom had been allotted the province of administering justice in Rome, were instructed to make ready, in addition to the fleet which Baebius was to command, one hundred quinqueremes.

Before the consul and praetors set out for their provinces, a supplication was held by reason of prodigies. A she-goat was reported from Picenum to have given birth to six kids at one time, and at Arretium a boy with one hand was born, at Amiternum there was a shower of earth, at Formiae the wall and gate were struck by lightning, and, a thing which caused the greatest terror, at Rome a cow belonging to the consul Gnaeus Domitius spoke, saying, "Rome, for thyself beware." The period of prayer was held on account of the other portents; the *haruspices* ordered that the cow be carefully kept and fed. The Tiber, attacking the city with a more violent rush than the year before, swept away the two bridges² and many buildings, especially around the Porta Flumentana. A huge stone, dislodged either by the rains or by an earthquake too slight to be felt otherwise, fell into the *vicus Iugarius*³ from the Capitoline and killed many people. In the flooded lands round about many cattle were washed away and damage was done to the farmhouses.

Before the consul Lucius Quinctius arrived in his province, Quintus Minucius, in the neighbourhood

² This street led southwards from the Forum at the base of the Capitoline.

A.U.C.
562

signis collatis pugnavit; novem milia hostium occidit, ceteros fusos fugatosque in castra compulit.
 8 Ea usque in noctem magno certamine oppugnata
 9 defensaque sunt. Nocte clam profecti Ligures;
 prima luce vacua castra Romanus invasit; praedae
 minus inventum est quod subinde spolia agrorum
 10 capta domos mittebant. Minucius nihil deinde
 laxamenti hostibus dedit; ex agro Pisano in Ligures
 profectus castella vicosque eorum¹ igni ferroque
 11 pervastavit. Ibi praeda Etrusca quae missa a
 populatoribus fuerat repletus est miles Romanus.

XXII. Sub idem tempus legati ab regibus Romam
 2 reverterunt; qui cum nihil quod satis maturam
 causam belli haberet, nisi adversus Lacedaemonium
 tyrannum, attulissent, quem et Achaei legati nuntia-
 bant contra foedus maritimam oram Laconum
 oppugnare, Atilius praetor cum classe missus in
 3 Graeciam est ad tuendos socios. Consules, quando
 nihil ab Antiocho instaret, proficisci ambo in provin-
 cias placuit. Domitius ab Arimino, qua proximum
 4 fuit, Quinctius per Ligures in Boios venit. Duo
 consulum agmina diversa late agrum hostium per-
 vastarunt. Primo equites eorum pauci cum prae-
 fectis, deinde universus senatus, postremo in quibus
 aut fortuna aliqua aut dignitas erat, ad mille quin-
 5 genti ad consules transfugerunt. Et in utraque
 Hispania eo anno res prospere gestae; nam et C.

¹ eorum 5: om. B.

¹ These kings were Eumenes and Antiochus; the commis-
 sioners seem to have had no instructions to visit Nabia, but
 they had picked up incidental information about him.

of Pisa, met the Ligures in a pitched battle; he killed B.C. 192
 nine thousand of the enemy, routed and put to flight
 the rest and drove them into their camp. This was
 vigorously attacked and defended until nightfall.
 By night the Ligures secretly withdrew and at day-
 break the Romans entered the abandoned camp;
 less booty was found there because the spoils from
 the country were from time to time sent home.
 Minucius then gave the enemy no rest; from
 Pisan territory he marched into the land of the
 Ligures and completely laid waste their citadels and
 towns with fire and sword. There the booty of
 Etruria, which had been sent on by the raiders, sated
 the Roman soldiers.

XXII. About the same time the commissioners
 returned from the kings¹ to Rome; when they had
 no report to make which furnished a sufficiently
 pressing cause for war, except against the Lacedae-
 monian tyrant, whom the Achaean ambassadors
 also reported to be attacking the Spartan coast in
 contravention of the treaty, the praetor Atilius was
 ordered to Greece with the fleet to defend the allies.
 Both the consuls were directed to depart for their
 provinces, since no action was imminent from Antio-
 chus. Domitius by way of Ariminum, where the
 way was most direct, Quinctius through Liguria,
 came into the Boian territory. The columns of the
 two consuls in different directions ravaged the land
 of the enemy far and wide. At first a few of their
 cavalry with their commanders, and then the senate
 as a body, and finally all who possessed anything of
 fortune or rank, to the number of fifteen hundred,
 took refuge with the consuls. In both the Spanish
 provinces as well things went prosperously this year, for

A.U.C.
562

Flaminius oppidum Licabrum munitum opulentum-
que vineis expugnavit et nobilem regulum Conri-
6 bilonem vivum cepit, et M. Fulvius proconsul cum
duobus exercitibus hostium duo secunda proelia
fecit, oppida duo Hispanorum, Vesceliam Helonem-
que, et castella multa expugnavit; alia voluntate ad
7 eum defecerunt. Tum in Oretanos progressus et ibi
duobus potitus oppidis, Noliba et Cusibi, ad Tagum
amnem ire pergit. Toletum ibi parva urbs erat, sed
8 loco munito. Eam cum oppugnaret, Vettonum
magnus exercitus Toletanis subsidio venit. Cum
iis signis collatis prospere pugnavit et fuis Vettonibus
operibus Toletum cepit.

XXIII. Ceterum eo tempore minus ea bella quae
gerebantur curae patribus erant quam expectatio
2 nondum coepti cum Antiocho belli. Nam etsi ¹
per legatos identidem omnia explorabantur,² tamen ³
rumores temere sine ullis auctoribus orti multa falsa
3 veris miscebant. Inter quae adlatum erat, cum
in Aetoliam venisset Antiochus, extemplo classem
4 eum in Siciliam missurum. Itaque senatus, etsi
praetorem Atilium cum classe miserat in Graeciam,
5 tamen, quia non copiis modo sed etiam auctoritate
opus erat ad tenendos ⁴ sociorum animos, T. Quinc-
tium et Cn. Octavium et Cn. Servilium et P. Villium
legatos in Graeciam misit et, ut M. Baebius ex

¹ etsi *ed. Moguntina* 1518: et *B*.

² explorabantur *ed. Moguntina* 1518: expromebantur *B*.

³ tamen *ed. Moguntina* 1518: et quod *B*.

⁴ tenendos *T. Faber*: tuendos *B*.

¹ Fulvius was actually a praetor; it seems to have been a trait of one annalist to call all Spanish governors proconsuls regardless of rank. This habit has furnished scholars with a

Gaius Flaminius captured by storm the rich fortified town of Licabrum and took alive the noble chieftain Conribilo, and Marcus Fulvius the proconsul ¹ engaged with two armies of the enemy in two successful battles, captured two Spanish towns, Vescelia and Helo, and numerous forts; others voluntarily deserted to him. Then he marched against the Oretani, and after capturing two towns, Noliba and Cusibis, advanced to the river Tagus. There lay Toletum, a small town but on a naturally strong site. While he was besieging this city, a large force of the Vettones came to the aid of the Toletani. With them he fought successfully in a pitched battle, and after routing the Vettones he took Toletum by siege.²

XXIII. But at that time the wars which were going on caused less concern to the Fathers than the anticipation of the war with Antiochus which had not yet begun. For although everything was repeatedly investigated by commissioners, yet rumours, anonymous and groundlessly circulated, mingled much falsehood with the truth. Among them was the story that Antiochus, on his arrival in Aetolia, would immediately send a fleet to Sicily. Therefore the senate, although it had sent the praetor Atilius with a fleet to Greece, still, because there was need not only of military forces to influence the temper of the allies, but also of prestige, sent Titus Quinctius and Gnaeus Octavius and Gnaeus Servilius and Publius Villius as ambassadors to Greece, and decreed that Marcus Baebius should march his legions from

clue—often, unfortunately, overworked—to the separation of Livy's sources from one another.

² Cf. vii. 8 above for what may be the same incident as reported by another annalist.

LIVY

A.U.C.
562

Bruttis ad Tarentum et Brundisium promoveret legiones, decrevit, inde, si res posceret, in Macedoniam traiceret, et ut M. Fulvius praetor classem navium viginti mitteret ad tuendam Siciliae oram, et ut¹ cum imperio esset, qui classem eam duceret—duxit L. Oppius Salinator, qui priore anno aedilis plebei fuerat—et ut idem praetor L. Valerio collegae scriberet periculum esse ne classis regis Antiochi ex Aetolia in Siciliam traiceret: itaque placere senatui ad eum exercitum quem haberet tumultuariorum militum ad duodecim milia et quadringentos equites scriberet, quibus oram maritimam provinciae, qua vergeret in Graeciam, tueri posset.

Eum dilectum praetor non ex Sicilia ipsa tantum sed ex circumiacentibus insulis habuit, oppidaque omnia maritima, quae in Graeciam versa erant, praesidiis firmavit. Addidit alimenta rumoribus² adventum Attali, Eumenis fratris, qui nuntiavit, Antiochum regem Hellespontum cum exercitu transisse, et Aetolos ita se parare, ut sub adventum eius in armis essent. Et Eumeni absenti et praesenti Attalo gratiae actae, et aedes liberae locus lautia decreta, et munera data, equi duo, bina equestria arma et vasa argentea centum pondo et aurea viginti pondo.

XXIV. Cum alii atque alii nuntii bellum instare adferrent, ad rem pertinere visum est consules

¹ et ut *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: et *B*γ.

² alimenta rumoribus γ: alimentorum operibus *B*.

¹ The senate here seems to violate its own rule (see ii. 6 above) about acting on anonymous information. The emergency, however, was now greater and the rumours were consistent with the reports of the ambassadors.

Bruttian territory to Tarentum and Brundisium, B.C. 192 thence, if the situation should demand it, should cross to Macedonia; that Marcus Fulvius the praetor should send a fleet of twenty vessels to defend the coast of Sicily; that he who commanded the fleet should have the *imperium* (the commander was Lucius Oppius Salinator, who had been plebeian aedile the previous year); that the same praetor should write to his colleague Lucius Valerius that there was danger that the fleet of King Antiochus would cross to Sicily from Aetolia, and that consequently the senate had resolved that in addition to the army which he had he should enlist an emergency force of about twelve thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry with which to defend the sea-coast of the province on the side which faced Greece.¹ This levy the praetor raised not only from Sicily proper but from the surrounding islands also, and all the towns on the coast which looked toward Greece he strengthened with garrisons. Further food was given to the rumours by the coming of Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, who brought the news that King Antiochus had crossed the Hellespont with his army and that the Aetolians were making such preparations that they would be in arms at his arrival. Both Eumenes who was absent and Attalus who was present were thanked, and a free lodging was given Attalus, a place of entertainment and gifts were presented to him—two horses, two suits of equestrian armour, silver vases of one hundred pounds weight and golden vases of twenty pounds.

XXIV. When one messenger after another kept reporting that the war was close at hand, it seemed important under the circumstances that the consuls

A.U.C.
562

- 2 primo quoque tempore creari. Itaque senatus consultum factum est, ut M. Fulvius praetor litteras extemplo ad consulem mitteret, quibus certior fieret senatui placere, provincia exercituque tradito legatis Romam reverti eum et ex itinere praemittere edictum, 3 quo comitia consulibus creandis ediceret. Paruit iis litteris consul et praemisso edicto Romam venit. 4 Eo quoque anno magna ambitio fuit, quod patricii tres in unum locum petierunt, P. Cornelius Cn. F. Scipio, qui priore anno repulsam tulerat, et L. Cornelius Scipio et Cn. Manlius Volso. P. Scipioni, ut dilatum viro tali, non negatum honorem appareret, consulatus datus est; additur ei de plebe collega 6 M'.¹ Acilius Glabrio. Postero die praetores creati L. Aemilius Paulus M. Aemilius Lepidus M. Iunius Brutus A. Cornelius Mammula C. Livius et L. Oppius, utrique eorum Salinator cognomen erat; Oppius is erat, qui classem viginti navium in Siciliam 7 duxerat. Interim, dum novi magistratus sortirentur provincias, M. Baebius a Brundisio cum omnibus copiis transire in Epirum est iussus et circa Apolloniam 8 copias continere, et M. Fulvio praetori urbano negotium datum est ut quinqueremes novas quinquaginta faceret.

XXV. Et populus quidem Romanus ita se ad 2 omnes conatus Antiochi praeparabat; Nabis iam non

¹ M'. Gruter: m. B5.

should be chosen at the first possible opportunity. B.C. 192
Therefore a decree of the senate was passed to the effect that Marcus Fulvius the praetor should at once send despatches to the consul, in which he should be informed of the senate's desire that he should turn over his province and army to his lieutenants and return to Rome, and send ahead while on the road the edict in which he announced the election for the choice of consuls. The consul obeyed the message, and sending his edict ahead he came to Rome. In this year also there was a hotly-contested campaign, since three patricians were contending for one place—Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son of Gnaeus, who had suffered defeat the year before, and Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Manlius Volso. Publius Scipio, that it might seem in the case of so great a man that the honour was postponed but not refused, received one consulship; he was given as colleague from the plebeians Manius Acilius Glabrio. The next day the praetors were chosen—Lucius Aemilius Paulus, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Cornelius Mammula, Gaius Livius and Lucius Oppius, both of whom had the surname Salinator; it was Oppius who had led the fleet of twenty ships to Sicily. Meanwhile, until the new magistrates should cast lots for the provinces, Marcus Baebius was directed to cross with all his forces from Brundisium to Epirus and to hold his troops around Apollonia, and Marcus Fulvius the urban praetor was entrusted with the task of building fifty new quinqueremes.

XXV. And the Roman people, for its part, was thus making itself ready for any undertaking of Antiochus; Nabis by now was not putting off the

differebat bellum, sed summa vi Gytheum oppugnabat et infestus Achaeis, quod miserant¹ obsessis
 3 praesidium, agros eorum vastabat. Achaei non antea ausi capessere bellum quam ab Roma revertis-
 4 sent legati, ut quid senatui placeret scirent, post reditum legatorum et Sicyonem concilium edixerunt et legatos ad T. Quinctium miserunt qui consilium
 5 ab eo peterent. In concilio omnium ad bellum extemplo capessendum inclinatae sententiae erant; litterae T. Quincti cunctationem iniecerunt, quibus auctor erat praetorem classemque Romanam
 6 expectandi. Cum principum alii in sententia permanerent, alii utendum eius quem ipsi consuluisent consilio censerent, multitudo Philopoemenis sententiam expectabat. Praetor is tum erat et omnes eo tempore et prudentia et auctoritate anteibat. Is praefatus bene comparatum apud Aetolos esse ne praetor, cum de bello consulisset, ipse sententiam diceret, statuere quam primum ipsos quid vellent
 8 iussit: praetorem decreta eorum cum fide et cura executurum adnisciturumque ut, quantum in consilio humano positum esset, nec pacis eos paeniteret nec
 9 belli. Plus ea oratio momenti ad incitandos ad bellum habuit quam si aperte suadendo cupiditatem
 10 res gerendi ostendisset. Itaque ingenti consensu bellum decretum est, tempus et ratio administrandi
 11 eiuslibera praetori permissa. Philopoemen² praeterquam quod ita Quinctio placeret, et ipse existimabat

¹ miserant 5: miserat B.

² permissa. Philopoemen *Bekker*: permissa philopo eumenes B.

¹ Philopoemen was one of Livy's heroes. He was now *strategus* for the fourth time (Plut. *Philop.* xiv).

war but was besieging Gytheum with all his might, B.C. 192 and in his wrath at the Achaeans, because they had sent aid to the besieged, was devastating their fields. The Achaeans did not venture to begin hostilities until their deputies had returned from Rome, that they might know what was the will of the senate, but after the return of the ambassadors they both called a council at Sicyon and sent agents to Titus Quinctius to ask advice from him. In the council the votes of all were for an immediate beginning of the war; the letter of Titus Quinctius caused some hesitation, since in it he suggested that the praetor and the Roman fleet should be awaited. When some of the chiefs thought that they should abide by their decision, while others argued that the advice of him whom they themselves had consulted should be followed, the multitude waited for the opinion of Philopoemen.¹ He was then chief magistrate and surpassed everyone at that time in wisdom and influence. Beginning his speech by saying that it was a good practice among the Aetolians that the praetor, when he had put the question of war before them, should not himself state his opinion, he bade them to take as soon as possible what action they wished: as praetor he would carry out their orders faithfully and diligently and would strive, so far as this depended on human wisdom, that they should not regret either peace or war. This speech had more weight in urging them to war than if he had, by openly counselling it, revealed a desire to command. And so with complete agreement the war was decreed, and the time and method of prosecuting it left to the discretion of the praetor. Philopoemen himself, in addition to the fact that Quinctius wished it, also

A.D.C.
562

12 classem Romanam expectandam, quae a mari Gyth-
eum tueri posset; sed metuens ne dilationem res
non¹ pateretur et non Gytheum solum sed praesidium
quoque missum ad tuendam urbem amitteretur,
naves Achaeorum deduxit.

XXVI. Comparaverat et tyrannus modicam classem
ad prohibenda si qua obsessis mari summitterentur
praesidia, tres tectas naves et lembos pristisque,
2 tradita vetere classe ex foedere Romanis. Harum
novarum navium agilitatem ut experiretur, simul
ut omnia satis apta ad certamen essent, provectos
in altum cotidie remigem militemque simulacris
navalis pugnae exercebat, in eo ratus verti spem
obsidionis, si praesidia maritima interclusisset.
3 Praetor Achaeorum sicut terrestrium certaminum
arte quemvis clarorum imperatorum vel usu vel
4 ingenio aequabat, ita rudis in re navali erat, Arcas,
mediterraneus homo, externorum etiam omnium,
nisi quod in Creta praefectus auxiliorum militaverat,
5 ignarus. Navis erat quadriremis vetus,² capta annis
LXXX ante, cum Crateri uxorem Nicaeam a Nau-
6 pacto Corinthum veheret. Huius fama motus³—
fuerat⁴ enim nobile in classe regia quondam navi-
gium—deduci ab Aegio putrem iam admodum et
7 vetustate dilabentem iussit. Hac tum praetoria
nave praecedente classem, cum in ea Patrensis Tiso
praefectus classis veheretur, occurrerunt a Gytheo

¹ res non 5: res B.

² Navis erat quadriremis vetus *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: quadriremis vetus BM5.

³ fama motus 5: famosus B.

⁴ fuerat *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: venit 5: om. B.

¹ Crater was stepbrother of Antigonus Gonatas. This incident is not mentioned elsewhere.

believed that he should wait for the Roman fleet B.C. 192
which could defend Gytheum by sea; but fearing
that the situation would not permit delay and that
both Gytheum and the garrison sent to defend the
city would be lost, he launched the ships of the
Achaeans.

XXVI. The tyrant also had prepared a fleet of modest
size to keep away any garrisons that might be sent
by sea to aid the beleaguered; three decked ships and
some smaller vessels and cutters, since his old fleet
had been surrendered to the Romans under the
treaty. That he might try the speed of these new
ships and that at the same time everything might be
made ready for battle, he daily sailed out into the
open water and drilled the oarsmen and marines in
mock naval engagements, thinking that the hope
for the siege depended on his ability to cut off
reinforcements coming by sea. While the praetor of
the Achaeans excelled, in his knowledge of fighting
on land, anyone you will of famous commanders,
either in experience or in aptitude, yet he was with-
out experience in naval warfare, being an Arcadian,
a man from an inland country, unacquainted with the
practices of other countries, except that in Crete he
had served as a commander of auxiliaries. There
was an old ship, a quadrireme, captured eighty
years previously when it was transporting Nicaea,
the wife of Crater,¹ from Naupactus to Corinth.
Prompted by its reputation—for it had been in its
time a famous craft in the royal fleet—he ordered it
to be launched at Aegium although it was now quite
rotten and was falling to pieces from age. At this
time, with this flagship leading the fleet, with Tiso
of Patrae sailing in it as admiral of the fleet, the

LIVY

A.U.C.
562

8 Laconum naves; et primo statim incursu ad novam
et firmam navem vetus, quae per se ipsa omnibus
compagibus aquam acciperet, divulsa est, captique
9 omnes, qui in nave erant. Cetera classis praetoria
nave amissa, quantum quaeque remis valuit fugerunt.
Ipse Philopoemen¹ in levi speculatoria nave fugit²
nec ante fugae finem, quam Patras ventum
10 est³ fecit. Nihil ea res animum militaris viri et
multos experti casus imminuit; quin contra, si in
re navali, cuius esset ignarus, offendisset, eo plus in
ea, quorum usu calleret, spei nactus, breve id tyranno
gaudium se effecturum adfirmabat.

XXVII. Nabis cum prospera re elatus,⁴ tum spem
etiam haud dubiam nactus nihil iam a mari periculi
fore, et terrestres aditus claudere opportune positus
2 praesidiis voluit. Tertia parte copiarum ab obsidione
3 Gythei abducta ad Pleias posuit castra; imminet is
locus et Leucis et Acriis, qua videbantur hostes
exercitum admoturi. Cum ibi stativa essent et
pauci tabernacula haberent, multitudo alia casas ex
harundine textas fronde, quae umbram modo prae-
4 beret, texissent,⁵ priusquam in conspectum hostis
veniret, Philopoemen necopinantem eum improvise
5 genere belli adgredi statuit. Navigia parva in
stationem occultam agri Argivi contraxit; in ea
expeditos milites, caetratos plerosque, cum fundis et
6 iaculis et alio levi genere armaturae imposuit. Inde

¹ Philopoemen *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: philipo eumenes B.² fugit ̄: fuit BM.³ est ̄: sit B.⁴ prospera re elatus *Kreyssig*: prospere latus M: om. B.⁵ texissent *ed. Parisina* 1510: crexisset B.¹ Cf. XXXI. xxxvi. 1 and the note.

Spartan ships from Gytheum met them; and at the first shock with a new and stout vessel, the old ship, which even before had been taking in water through every seam, broke up and everyone who sailed in it was made prisoner. The rest of the fleet, when their flagship was lost, fled as fast as the oars could drive them. Philopoemen himself escaped in a light scouting vessel and did not stop his flight until he reached Patrae. In no wise did this mishap affect the courage of this man, a soldier born and tried by many vicissitudes; on the contrary, rather, if he had failed in a naval battle, in which he was inexperienced, he conceived the greater hope in respect to that in the experience of which he excelled, and he asserted that he would render the tyrant's joy of short duration.

XXVII. Nabis, both gladdened by the victory and filled also with the unquestioning hope that there would no longer be any danger from the sea, wanted to close the land approaches too by suitably-placed guards. Withdrawing one-third of his troops from the siege of Gytheum, he encamped near Pleiae; this place threatens both Leuci and Acriae, where it was evident that the enemy would bring up their army. When he had placed his base there and only a few had tents, but the rest of the throng had huts woven out of reeds and thatched with leaves, which offered nothing but shade, Philopoemen, before he came in sight of the enemy, determined to attack him unexpectedly with a new kind of warfare. He collected small boats in a secret haven in Argive territory; into them he loaded lightly-equipped soldiers, mostly *caetrati*,¹ with slings and darts and other kinds of light ordnance. Then, skirting the

A.U.C.
562

littora legens cum ad propinquum castris hostium promunturium venisset, egressus callibus notis nocte Pleias pervenit et sopitis vigilibus ut in nullo propinquo metu ignem casis ab omni parte castrorum
 7 iniecit. Multi prius incendio absumpti sunt quam hostium adventum sentirent, et qui senserant nullam
 8 opem ferre potuerunt. Ferro flammaque omnia absumpta; perpauci ex tam¹ ancipiti peste ad Gytheum in maiora castra perfugerunt. Ita percussis hostibus Philopoemen protinus ad depopulandam
 10 Tripolim Laconici agri, qui proximus finem Megalopolitarum est, duxit et magna vi pecorum hominumque inde abrepta, priusquam a Gytheo tyrannus
 11 praesidium agris mitteret, discessit. Inde Tegeam exercitu contracto concilioque eodem et Achaeis et sociis indicto, in quo et Epirotarum et Acarnanum
 12 fuere principes, statuit, quoniam satis et suorum² a pudore maritimae ignominiae restituti animi et hostium conterriti essent, ad Lacedaemonem ducere, eo modo uno ratus ab obsidione Gythei hostem abduci
 13 posse. Ad Caryas primum in hostium terra posuit castra. Eo ipso die Gytheum expugnatum est. Cuius rei ignarus Philopoemen castra ad Barnosthenem—mons est decem milia passuum ab Lacedaemone—promovit.³ Et Nabis, recepto Gytheo cum expedito exercitu inde profectus, cum praeter Lacedaemonem raptim duxisset, Pyrrhi quae vocant

¹ ex tam *Bekker*: tam *B*: tamen ex tam *M*: tamen *σ*.

² et suorum *ed. Parisina* 1513: essent testes suorum *Bσ*.

³ promovit *ed. Lugdunensis* 1537: processit *Bσ*.

¹ This was probably an irregular meeting, before which Philopoemen reported on his use of the discretion given him as commander (xxv. 10).

² This place lies to the north of Lacedaemon; another site of the same name was mentioned in XXXII. xiii. 2.

shore, when he came to a headland near the camp of the enemy, he landed and travelling over familiar trails by night came to Pleiae and, the sentinels being asleep, like men in no immediate peril, hurled firebrands upon the huts on every side of the camp. Many were consumed by the flames before they knew of the enemy's approach, and those who did know of it were able to bring them no aid. With sword and fire everything was destroyed; a very few escaped from this two-fold destruction to Gytheum and the larger camp. Having thus inflicted a defeat upon the enemy, Philopoemen marched straight to ravage Tripolis in Spartan territory, this being nearest the borders of the Megalopolitae, and having carried off thence a large number of animals and men departed before the tyrant from Gytheum could send guards over the land. Thence, having mustered the army at Tegea and calling a council at the same place,¹ of both Achaeans and allies, at which the leading men of the Epirotes and Acarnanians were also present, he determined, since on the one hand the courage of his own men was restored after the shame of the defeat on the sea, and on the other the enemy was terrified, to lead the army against Lacedaemon, thinking that in that way alone the enemy could be drawn away from the siege of Gytheum. He first pitched camp at Caryae in the enemy's country. On that very day Gytheum was captured. Philopoemen, in ignorance of this fact, moved his camp forward to Barnosthenes—this is a mountain ten miles from Lacedaemon. And Nabis, having regained Gytheum, left there with his army in light marching order, and having speedily passed Lacedaemon, occupied what they call the camp of Pyrrhus,²

- castra occupavit, quem peti locum ab Achaeis non
 15 dubitabat. Inde hostibus occurrit. Obtinebant au-
 tem longo agmine propter angustias viae prope
 quinque milia passuum; cogeatur agmen ab equiti-
 bus et maxima parte auxiliorum, quod existimabat
 Philopoemen tyrannum mercennariis militibus, qui-
 bus plurimum fideret, ab tergo suos adgressurum.
 16 Duae res simul inopinatae perculerunt eum, una
 praecoccupatus quem petebat locus, altera, quod
 primo agmini occurrisset hostem cernebat, ubi, cum
 per loca confragosa iter esset, sine levis armaturae
 praesidio signa ferri non videbat posse.

XXVIII. Erat autem Philopoemen praecipuae in
 ducendo agmine locisque capiendis solertiae atque
 2 ad id maxime animum exercuerat. Ubi iter quo-
 piam faceret et ad difficilem transitu saltum venisset,
 contemplatus ab omni parte loci naturam, cum solus
 iret, secum ipse agitabat animo, cum comites haberet,
 3 ab his quaerebat, si hostis eo loco apparuisset, quid,
 si a fronte, quid, si ab latere hoc aut illo, quid, si ab
 tergo adoriretur, capiendum consilii foret; posse¹
 instructos recta acie, posse inconditum² agmen et
 4 tantummodo aptum viae occurrere. Quem locum
 ipse capturus esset, cogitando aut quaerendo exequ-
 batur, aut quot armatis aut quo genere armorum—

¹ posse ς : hos se B.

² inconditum ς : incognitum B.

a place that he did not doubt would be attacked by the Achaeans. There he met the enemy. They were now spread out over a stretch of about five miles, their column being elongated on account of the narrowness of the road; the rearguard was composed of the cavalry and the mass of the auxiliaries, because Philopoemen thought that the tyrant would attack him from the rear with his mercenary troops, in whom he placed most confidence. Two unexpected situations at one time filled him with dismay: first, the fact that the place which he sought had already been occupied; second, that he saw the enemy confronting his van, where, since the way led through rough country, he did not see how the standards could be advanced without a screen of light troops.

XXVIII. Philopoemen, however, was a man of unusual astuteness and experience in leading troops and choosing positions, and not only in war-times but in peace as well he had trained his mind particularly in these arts. When he was travelling anywhere and had reached a pass difficult to get through, viewing the character of the ground from every angle, when he was travelling alone, he would consider with himself, when he had companions, he would ask them, if the enemy had shown himself at that point, what plan should be adopted if he attacked from the front, what if on this or that flank, what if from the rear; it was possible to meet him while drawn up in regular array, it was possible to do so in a less orderly formation suited only to the march. What ground he himself would occupy he would try to determine, by reflecting or by asking questions, or how many troops or what kind of

A.U.C.
562

plurimum enim interesse—usus; quo impedi-
 5 menta, quo sarcinas, quo turbam inermem reiceret;
 quanto ea aut quali praesidio custodiret, et utrum
 6 pergere, qua coepisset ire via, an eam, qua venisset,
 repetere melius esset; castris quoque quem locum
 caperet, quantum munimento amplecteretur loci,
 qua opportuna aquatio, qua pabuli lignorumque
 7 copia esset; qua postero die castra moventi tutum
 maxime iter, quae forma agminis esset. His curis
 cogitationibusque ita ab ineunte aetate animum
 agitaverat ut nulla ei nova in tali re cogitatio esset.
 8 Et tum omnium primum agmen constituit; dein
 Cretenses auxiliares et quos Tarentinos vocabant
 equites, binos secum trahentes equos, ad prima signa
 misit et iussis equitibus subsequi super torrentem
 9 unde aquari possent rupem occupavit; eo impedi-
 menta omnia et calonum turbam collectam armatis
 circumdedit et pro natura loci castra communivit;
 tabernacula statuere in aspretis et inaequabili solo
 10 difficile erat. Hostes quingentos passus aberant.
 Ex eodem rivo utrique cum praesidio levis armaturae
 aquati sunt; et priusquam qualia propinquis castris
 solent contraheretur certamen, nox intervenit.
 11 Postero die apparebat pugnandum pro aquatoribus
 circa rivum esse. Nocte in valle a conspectu hostium

¹ It would be interesting to know where Livy found this account of Philopoemen's self-administered course in minor tactics. Plutarch (*Philop.* iv-v) tells practically the same story, and adds that Evangelus and the histories of Alexander's campaigns were his favourite reading, but that he preferred terrain exercises to map problems (to use the current technical terminology) and literary descriptions of battles.

weapons—for this was of the greatest importance— B.C. 192
 he would use; where he would put the trains, where
 the baggage, where the unarmed mass, with how
 strong guards, and of what sort, he would protect
 them, and whether it would be better to continue
 by the way he had intended to go or to return the
 way he had come; what place too he would choose
 for his camp, how much space he would enclose in
 the fortifications, where there was a suitable water-
 supply and where were supplies of forage and wood;
 where, when he moved his camp the next day, would
 be his safest route, and what would be his order of
 march. With such concerns and thoughts he had
 from boyhood filled his mind, so that now no new
 subject of consideration faced him at such a crisis.¹
 And at this time he first of all formed his column,
 then he sent the Cretan auxiliaries and the cavalry
 whom they call the Tarentini,² each leading two
 horses with him, to the van, and ordering the cavalry
 to follow he seized a cliff above a stream whence
 they could get water; then he threw an armed guard
 around all the baggage and the assembled throng
 of camp followers and fortified the camp as the nature
 of the ground required; it was difficult to pitch tents
 on the rough and uneven ground. The enemy was
 about five hundred paces away. Both sides, using
 light-armed guards, drew water from the same
 stream, but before a regular battle had begun, which
 is the usual occurrence when camps are close together,
 the night fell. It was clear that on the next day they
 must fight at the stream in defence of the watering-
 parties. At night, in a valley out of sight of the

² Whatever the origin of the name, these troops did not come from Tarentum in Italy.

A.U.C.
562

aversa, quantum multitudinem locus occultare poterat, condidit caetratorum.

XXIX. Luce orta Cretensium levis armatura et Tarentini equites super torrentem proelium commiserunt; Telemnastus Cretensis popularibus suis, 2 equitibus Lycortas Megalopolitanus praeerat; Cretenses et hostium auxiliares, equitumque idem genus, Tarentini, praesidio aquatoribus erant.¹ Aliquamdiu dubium proelium fuit ut eodem ex parte utraque 3 hominum genere et armis paribus; procedente certamine et numero vicere tyranni auxiliares, et quia ita praeceptum a Philopoemene praefectis erat, ut modico edito proelio in fugam inclinarent hostemque ad locum insidiarum pertraherent. Effuse secuti fugientes per convallem plerique et vulnerati et interfecti sunt, priusquam occultum hostem vider- 4 ent. Caetrati² ita quantum latitudo vallis patiebatur instructi sederant, ut facile per intervalla ordinum 5 fugientes suos acciperent. Consurgunt deinde ipsi integri, recentes, instructi; in hostes inordinatos, effusos, labore etiam et vulneribus fessos impetum 6 faciunt. Nec dubia victoria fuit: extemplo terga dedit tyranni miles et haud paulo concitatore cursu quam secutus erat, fugiens in castra est compulsus. 7 Multi caesi captique in ea fuga sunt; et in castris quoque foret trepidatum, ni Philopoemen receptui

¹ erant 5: om. B.² caetrati 5: certati B.

enemy, he placed as large a force of *caetrati* as the place could conceal. B.C. 192

XXIX. When day broke the light-armed Cretans and the Tarentine cavalry began the battle on the banks of the river; Telemnastus the Cretan commanded his countrymen, Lycortas of Megalopolis the cavalry; the enemy also employed Cretan auxiliaries and cavalry of the same kind, that is, Tarentini, to protect their water-carriers. For a time the battle was doubtful, since the troops on both sides were of the same character and fought with similar equipment; as the fight went on the tyrant's auxiliaries gained the upper hand, both because they were superior in numbers and because Philopoemen had given his commanders specific instructions that after offering a fairly stiff resistance they should begin to retire and draw the enemy towards the place of the ambushade. Following the retreating enemy headlong through the defile, many were wounded and slain before they spied the hidden foe. The *caetrati* had been resting in formation, so far as the width of the valley permitted, so that they easily permitted the fugitives to pass through the intervals in their ranks. Then they themselves arose, unwounded, fresh, in regular array; against an enemy in disorder, scattered, wearied alike by exertions and wounds, they made their charge. Nor was the issue in doubt, and at a rate no little faster than that of their pursuit the soldiers of the tyrant immediately fled and in their rout were driven into their camp. Many were killed and captured in this flight; and there would have been panic in the camp too had not Philopoemen ordered the recall sounded, in fear of the rough

A.U.C.
662

cani iussisset, loca magis confragosa et¹ quacumque temere processisset iniqua quam² hostem metuens.

Inde et ex fortuna pugnae et ex ingenio ducis coniectans, in quo tum is pavore esset, unum de auxiliariis specie transfugae mittit ad eum, qui pro comperto adferret Achaeos statuisset postero die ad Eurotan amnem, qui prope ipsis adfluit moenibus, progredi, ut intercluderent iter, ne aut tyrannus cum vellet receptum ad urbem haberet, aut commeatus ab urbe in castra portarentur, simul et temptaturos, si quorum animi sollicitari ad defectionem a tyranno possent. Non tam fidem dictis perfuga fecit quam perculso metu relinquendi castra causam probabilem prae-buit. Postero die Pythagoram cum auxiliariis et equitatu stationem agere pro vallo iussit; ipse tamquam in aciem cum robore exercitus egressus signa ocus ferri ad urbem iussit.

XXX. Philopoemen postquam citatum agmen per angustam et proclivem viam duci raptim vidit, equitatum omnem et Cretensium auxiliares in stationem hostium quae pro castris erat emittit. Illi ubi hostes adesse et a suis se desertos viderunt, primo in castra recipere se conati sunt; deinde, postquam instructa acies tota Achaeorum admovebatur, metu ne cum ipsis castris caperentur, sequi suorum agmen aliquantum praegressum insistent.

¹ et ed. Frobeniana 1535: om. B.

² iniqua quam ed. Frobeniana 1531: nequaquam Br.

¹ The walls of Nabis' city of Sparta.

and uneven ground where he had heedlessly advanced rather than of the enemy. B.C. 192

Then, drawing inferences both from the outcome of the battle and from the character of the commander what his present fright must be, he sent to him one of the auxiliaries in the guise of a deserter, who reported it as an assured fact that the Achaeans would next day advance to the Eurotas river, which flowed almost beneath the very walls,¹ to block the road, that the tyrant might neither have a way to retreat into the city when he wished nor to transport supplies from the city to the camp, and that the Achaeans might make an effort to find out whether anyone could be influenced towards an inclination to desert the tyrant. The deserter did not so much produce confidence in his words as offer to a man stricken with terror a plausible excuse for abandoning his camp. The next day Nabis ordered Pythagoras with the auxiliaries and the cavalry to stand guard before the rampart; he himself, setting out with the main body of the army, as if to the battlefield, ordered the standards to proceed at quickened pace towards the city.

XXX. When Philopoemen saw that the rapidly-moving column was being hurriedly led over a narrow and steep road, he sent out all the cavalry and the Cretan auxiliaries against the guard of the enemy which was in front of the camp. When they saw the enemy approaching and themselves abandoned by their friends, they first tried to withdraw within the camp, then, when the whole battle-line of the Achaeans was moving forward, fearing that they would be captured camp and all, they decided to follow the column of their troops which was some

A.U.C.
563

- 4 Extemplo caetrati Achaeorum in castra impetum faciunt et ea¹ diripiunt; ceteri ad persequendos hostes ire pergunt. Erat iter tale, per quod vix² tranquillum ab hostili metu agmen expediri posset; ut vero ad postremos proelium ortum est, clamorque terribilis ab tergo paventium ad prima signa est perlatus, pro se quisque armis abiectis in circumiectas itineri silvas diffugiunt, momentoque temporis strage armorum saepta via est, maxime hastis, quae pleraeque adversae cadentes velut vallo obiecto iter impediabant. Philopoemen utcumque possent instare et persequi auxiliaribus iussis—utique enim equitibus haud facilem futuram fugam—ipse gravius agmen via patentiore ad Eurotan amnem deduxit. 8 Ibi castris sub occasum solis positus levem armaturam quam ad persequendum reliquerat hostem opperiebatur. Qui ubi prima vigilia venerunt, nuntiantes tyrannum cum paucis ad urbem penetrasse, ceteram multitudinem inermem toto sparsam vagari saltu, 9 corpora curare eos iubet; ipse ex cetera copia militum, qui quia priores in castra venerant, refecti et cibo sumpto et modica quiete erant, delectos nihil praeter gladios secum ferentes extemplo educit et duarum portarum itineribus, quae Pharas quaeque Barnosthenem ferunt, eos instruxit, qua ex fuga re-

¹ ea Gronovius: om. B.² vix ed. Moguntina 1518: via B.

¹ The context and the regular meaning of *adversus* require this interpretation, but it is not easy to see how a spear, dropped by a man in flight, would naturally fall with its point facing the rear and its butt fixed in the ground. In XXXII. xvii. 14 Livy compares the spear-points of the Macedonian phalanx to a rampart. We may select as an explanation excessive credulity, misunderstanding of the source, corruption

distance ahead. Straightway the Achaean *caetrati* B.C. 192 assailed the camp and plundered it; the rest proceeded to pursue the enemy. The road was such that it could with difficulty be traversed by a column even if free from fear of an enemy; but when the battle began in the rear and a dreadful shout from panic-stricken men behind reached those in the van, each for himself threw away his weapons and plunged into the forests which lined the road, and in an instant the way was blocked by piles of arms, especially spears, many of which, falling with their points toward the enemy,¹ closed the road as if with a palisade placed in the way. Philopoemen ordered the auxiliaries to press on and follow wherever they could and—since the flight would not be easy, especially for the cavalry—himself conducted the heavier troops by a more open road toward the Eurotas river. There he pitched camp at sunset and waited for the lighter troops which he had left to pursue the enemy. When they arrived during the first watch, reporting that the tyrant with a few men had made their way into the city and the rest of the army was wandering without weapons hither and thither through all the woods, he ordered them to care for their bodies; he himself, out of the other body of troops who, because they had arrived in camp at an earlier hour, had been refreshed both by the food they had taken and by a brief rest, chose some, taking nothing with them but their swords, led them out at once and posted them at the roads from two gates which they call Pharae and Barnosthenes, where he thought the enemy would in the text, or a miracle. Plutarch does not mention the incident.

A.U.C.
562

- 10 cepturos sese hostes credebat. Nec eum opinio
 11 fefellit, nam Lacedaemonii, quoad lucis superfuit
 quicquam, deviis callibus medio saltu recipiebant se;
 primo vespere, ut lumina in castris hostium con-
 spexere, e regione ¹ eorum occultis semitis se tenue-
 runt; ubi ea sunt praetergressi, iam tutum rati in
 patentes vias descenderunt. Ibi excepti ab insidente
 12 hoste passim ita multi caesi captique sunt ut vix
 quarta pars de toto exercitu evaserit. Philopoemen
 incluso tyranno in urbem insequentes dies prope
 triginta vastandis agris Laconum absumpsit, de-
 bilitatisque ac prope fractis tyranni viribus domum
 13 rediit, aequantibus eum gloria rerum Achaeis im-
 peratori Romano et, quod ad Laconum bellum
 attineret, praeferebantibus etiam.

XXXI. Dum inter Achaeos et tyrannum bellum
 erat, legati Romanorum circuire sociorum urbes sol-
 liciti, ne Aetoli partis alicuius animos ad Antiochum
 2 avertissent. Minimum operae in Achaeis adeundis
 consumpserunt, quos, quia Nabidi infesti erant, ad
 3 cetera quoque satis fidos censebant esse. Athenas
 primum, inde Chalcidem, inde in Thessaliam iere,
 adlocutique concilio frequenti Thessalos Demetria-
 dem iter flexere. Eo Magnetum concilium indictum
 4 est. Accuratiores ibi habenda oratio fuit, quod pars
 principum alienati Romanis totique Antiochi et

¹ e regione C : regione B.

¹ Flamininus' campaign against Nabis (XXXIV. xxviii ff.) had been inconclusive, and the favourable comparison of Philopoemen to him was based on these campaigns, not on the war with Philip. Justin (XXXI. iii. 4) tells the same story.

return from the flight. Nor did his expectation B.C. 192
 deceive him, for the Lacedaemonians, as long as
 any light remained, kept to the paths invisible in
 the interior of the forest; when evening came and
 they saw the lights in the enemy's camp, they kept
 themselves to paths hidden from their direction;
 when they had passed the camp, thinking it was
 now safe, they went down into the open roads.
 There they were picked up by the enemy waiting
 all around, and so many were killed or captured that
 barely a fourth of the whole army escaped. Philo-
 poemen, having shut up the tyrant in the city, spent
 about the ensuing thirty days in laying waste the
 fields of the Laconians, and having weakened and
 well-nigh broken the tyrant's power, returned home,
 the Achaeans equalizing him in the glory of his
 achievements with the Roman commander and, so
 far as the Spartan war was concerned, even placing
 him ahead.¹

XXXI. While the war between the Achaeans and
 the tyrant was in progress, the Roman commissioners
 were going around the cities of the allies, being afraid
 that the Aetolians had turned the thoughts of some
 of the allies toward Antiochus. They spent the
 least effort in approaching the Achaeans, who, since
 they were hostile to Nabis, were, they felt certain,
 faithful enough in other relations as well. To
 Athens first, then to Chalcis, then to Thessaly they
 took their course, and after addressing the Thes-
 salians in a full council they turned aside to Demetrias.
 There a council of the Magnetes had been called.
 It was necessary to employ more carefully-chosen
 language at this council because some of the chiefs
 were alienated from the Romans and wholly devoted

A.U.C.
562

5 Aetolorum erant, quia, cum reddi obsidem filium
 Philippo adlatum esset stipendiumque impositum
 remitti, inter cetera vana adlatum erat Demetria-
 6 dem quoque ei reddituros Romanos esse. Id ne
 fieret, Eurylochus, princeps Magnetum, factionisque
 eius quidam omnia novari Aetolorum Antiochique
 7 adventu malebant. Adversus eos ita disserendum
 erat, ne timorem vanum iis demendo spes incisa
 Philippum abalienaret, in quo plus ad omnia momenti
 8 quam in Magnetibus esset. Illa tantum com-
 memorata, cum totam Graeciam beneficio libertatis
 obnoxiam Romanis esse tum eam civitatem prae-
 9 cipue: ibi enim non praesidium modo Macedonum
 fuisse, sed regiam exaëdificatam, ut praesens semper
 10 in oculis habendus esset dominus; ceterum nequ-
 quam ea facta, si Aetoli Antiochum in Philippi
 regiam adducerent, et novus et incognitus pro vetere
 11 et experto habendus rex esset. Magnetarchen
 summum magistratum vocant; is tum Eurylochus
 erat, ac potestate ea fretus negavit dissimulandum
 sibi et Magnetibus esse, quae fama vulgata de red-
 12 denda Demetriade Philippo foret; id ne fieret,
 omnia et conanda et audenda Magnetibus esse.
 Et inter dicendi contentionem inconsultius evectus
 proiecit tum quoque specie liberam Demetriadem
 esse, re vera omnia ad nutum Romanorum fieri.

¹ Livy does not mention any embassy to Philip at this time and says nothing of any proposal to return his son until 191 B.C. (XXXVI. xxxv. 13), when Demetrius was restored to his father. Diodorus (XXVIII. xvi), however, speaks of an embassy which promised both these things to Philip. The Magnetes, then, may have had some grounds for their suspicions, as even Livy's language (note especially *spes incisa* in sect. 7 below) indicates.

to Antiochus and the Aetolians because, when it was reported that Philip's son, who was a hostage, was being returned to him and the tribute which had been imposed remitted,¹ among other falsehoods it was said that Demetrias also would be given back to him by the Romans. To prevent this from happening, Eurylochus, the chief of the Magnetes, and some members of his party preferred that everything be thrown into confusion by the coming of Antiochus and the Aetolians. Against them such arguments had to be used that in taking from them their groundless fear the destruction of his hope might not alienate Philip, who was more important in every way than the Magnetes. The main facts were merely mentioned, that not only all Greece was indebted to the Romans for the blessing of liberty, but this state especially; for not only had there been a Macedonian garrison there, but a royal palace had been built, that their master in person might always be held before their eyes; but their liberation would prove to have been in vain if the Aetolians should install Antiochus in the palace of Philip and if they should have a new and unknown king in place of one who was old and tried. They call their chief magistrate the Magnetarch: Eurylochus then held the office, and relying on that authority he said that he and the Magnetes should not dissemble regarding the rumour that was in circulation that Demetrias was to be given back to Philip; to prevent that, the Magnetes would both try and venture anything. And, carried too far away in the passion of speaking, he threw out the remark that even then Demetrias was free in appearance, while in reality everything was done at the Romans' nod. At these

B.C. 192

A.U.C.
562

- 13 Sub hanc vocem¹ fremitus variantis multitudinis fuit partim adsensum² partim indignationem,³ dicere id ausum eum; Quinctius quidem adeo exarsit ira, ut manus⁴ ad caelum tendens deos testes ingrati ac
- 14 perfidi animi Magnetum invocaret. Hac voce perterritis omnibus Zeno, ex principibus unus, magnae cum ob eleganter actam vitam auctoritatis, tum quod semper Romanorum haud dubie partis fuerat, ab Quinctio legatisque aliis flens petit ne⁵ unius amentiam civitati adsignarent; suo quemque periculo furere; Magnetes non libertatem modo, sed omnia quae hominibus sancta caraque sint T. Quinctio et populo Romano debere; nihil quem-
- 16 quam ab diis immortalibus precari posse, quod non Magnetes ab illis haberent, et in corpora sua citius per furorem saevituros quam ut Romanam amicitiam violarent.

XXXII. Huius orationem subsecutae multitudinis preces sunt; Eurylochus ex concilio itineribus occultis ad portam atque inde protinus in Aetoliam

2 profugit. Iam enim, et id magis in dies, Aetoli defectionem nudabant, eoque ipso tempore forte Thoas, princeps gentis, quem miserant ad Antiochum, redierat inde Menippumque secum adduxerat regis

3 legatum. Qui, priusquam concilium iis daretur, impleverant omnium aures terrestres navalesque copias

4 commemorando: ingentem vim peditum equitumque venire, ex India elephantos accitos, ante omnia,

¹ hanc vocem *ed. Moguntina* 1518: hac voce *B.*

² adsensum ς : adsensu *B.*

³ indignationem ς : indignatione *B.*

⁴ manus ς : manum *B.* ⁵ petit ne ς : petit *B.*

¹ Cf. xii. 4 above. His embassy to Antiochus has not been mentioned.

words there arose a shout from the crowd, some ex- B.C. 192 pressing agreement, some indignation that he should have dared to say this; Quinctius, indeed, was so inflamed with wrath that raising his hands to heaven he implored the gods to witness the ungrateful and treacherous spirit of the Magnetes. All were terrified by these words, and Zeno, one of the leading citizens, and possessed of great influence both because he pursued a seemly mode of life and because he had always indisputably belonged to the Roman party, with tears begged Quinctius and the other commissioners not to charge the insanity of one man against the community: each one was mad at his own peril; the Magnetes, he admitted, owed not merely their freedom but everything which man holds sacred and dear to Titus Quinctius and the Roman people; no man could pray to the immortal gods for anything which the Magnetes did not have from the Romans, and they would rather rage in madness against their own persons than violate the Roman friendship.

XXXII. His speech was followed by the prayers of the multitude; Eurylochus left the council by secret paths leading to the gate and thence fled straight into Aetolia. For now and more clearly every day the Aetolians were revealing their desertion, and at that very time it chanced that Thoas,¹ a leading man of the nation, whom they had sent to Antiochus, had returned from him and had brought with him Menippus as an ambassador from the king. They, before an audience was granted them, had filled the ears of all with talk about the land and naval forces: a huge contingent of infantry and cavalry was coming, elephants had been requisi-

A.U.C.
562

quo maxime credebant moveri multitudinis animos,
 tantum advehi auri, ut ipsos emere Romanos posset.
 5 Apparebat quid ea oratio in concilio motura esset;
 nam et venisse eos et quae agerent omnia legatis
 6 Romanis deferebantur; et quamquam prope abscisa
 spes¹ erat, tamen non ab re esse Quinctio visum est
 sociorum aliquos legatos interesse ei concilio, qui
 admonerent Romanae societatis Aetolos, qui vocem
 liberam mittere adversus regis legatum auderent.
 7 Athenienses maxime in eam rem idonei visi sunt et
 propter civitatis dignitatem et vetustam societatem
 cum Aetolis. Ab iis Quinctius petit ut legatos ad
 8 Panaetolicum concilium mitterent. Thoas primus
 in eo concilio renuntiavit legationem. Menippus
 post eum intromissus² optimum fuisse omnibus, qui
 9 Graeciam Asiamque incolerent, ait, integris rebus
 Philippi potuisse intervenire Antiochum: sua quem-
 que habiturum fuisse, neque omnia sub nutum
 10 dicionemque Romanam perventura. "Nunc quo-
 que" inquit, "si modo vos quae inchoastis consilia
 constanter perducitis ad exitum, poterit diis iuvanti-
 bus et Aetolis sociis Antiochus quamvis inclinatas
 Graeciae res restituere in pristinam dignitatem.
 11 Ea autem in libertate posita est, quae suis stat
 12 viribus, non ex alieno arbitrio pendet." Atheni-
 enses, quibus primis post regiam legationem dicendi

¹ spes Duker: res B.² intromissus ε: est intromissus B.

¹ There seems to be no record of an actual alliance between the Athenians and the Aetolians, but the two states were traditionally friendly: cf. XXXI. xxx. 11.

² This phrase seems to mean Philip and the individual Greek states.

tioned from India, and before all—and by this they B.C. 192
 believed that the mind of the crowd was especially
 influenced—so much gold was being brought that
 he could buy the Romans themselves. It was evident
 what commotion such talk would cause in the
 council; for both the fact that they had come and what
 business brought them was all reported to the Roman
 commissioners; and although hope was not entirely
 cut off, nevertheless it seemed to Quinctius not to
 be disadvantageous that some representatives of the
 allies should attend the council, to remind the
 Aetolians of the Roman alliance and to dare to speak
 out freely against the ambassador of the king. The
 Athenians seemed especially suitable for the purpose,
 on account of the dignity of their state and in addi-
 tion their ancient alliance with the Aetolians.¹
 Quinctius begged them to send delegates to the
 Panaetolian council. Thoas was the first to speak
 at that meeting, reporting on his mission. Menippus
 was given audience after him and said that it would
 have been best for all who lived in Greece and Asia
 if Antiochus could have intervened while Philip's con-
 dition was unimpaired: each one² would have his
 own and everything would not have become subject
 to the nod and control of the Romans. "Even now,"
 he said, "if only you steadfastly carry out to the
 end the plans which you have formed, by the grace
 of the gods and with the Aetolians as allies, Antio-
 chus will be able to restore the affairs of Greece, how-
 ever injured, to their former position. But this rests
 on liberty, which exists by its own might and does
 not depend on another's will." The Athenians, to
 whom next after the king's ambassador had been
 granted the opportunity of saying what they wished,

A.U.C.
562

- quae vellent potestas facta est, mentione omni regis praetermissa Romanae societatis Aetolos meritorumque¹ in universam Graeciam T. Quincti ad-
- 13 monuerunt: ne temere eam nimia celeritate consiliorum everterent; consilia calida et audacia prima specie laeta, tractatu dura, eventu tristitia esse. Legatos Romanos, et in iis T. Quinctium, haud
- 14 procul inde abesse; dum integra omnia essent, verbis potius de iis quae ambigerentur disceptarent quam Asiam Europamque ad funestum armarent bellum.

XXXIII. Multitudo avida novandi res Antiochi tota erat, et ne admittendos quidem in concilium Romanos censebant; principum maxime seniores auctoritate obtinuerunt ut daretur iis concilium.

2 Hoc decretum Athenienses cum rettulissent, eundum

3 in Aetoliam Quinctio visum est: aut enim moturum aliquid, aut omnes homines testes fore penes Aetolos culpam belli esse, Romanos iusta ac prope necessaria

4 sumptuos arma. Postquam ventum est eo, Quinctius in concilio orsus a principio societatis Aetolorum cum Romanis, et quotiens ab iis fides mota foederis esset, pauca de iure civitatum de quibus ambi-

5 geretur disseruit: si quid tamen aequi se habere arbitrarentur, quanto esse satius Romam mittere

6 legatos, seu disceptare seu rogare senatum mallent,

¹ meritorumque ϵ : meritorum B.

¹ In XXXIII. xiii. 11 Flamininus speaks of the alliance as broken. It had not, so far as we can judge from Livy's narrative, been formally renewed, but it is convenient for the Romans to regard it as even informally and tacitly in force with the resumption of peaceful relations after the liberation of Greece.

² Recalling the experience of the Aetolian embassy in 195

omitting all mention of the king, reminded the Aetolians of the Roman alliance¹ and of the services rendered to all Greece by Titus Quinctius: they should not heedlessly, by too great haste in deciding, spoil all this; hot-headed and bold decisions were fair at first sight, hard to follow through, disastrous in result. The Roman commissioners, and among them Titus Quinctius, were not far away; before decisive action was taken, let them settle by words those matters which were in dispute rather than arm Asia and Europe for a fatal war.

XXXIII. The multitude was eager for a change and was all in favour of Antiochus, and they voted that the Romans should not even be admitted to the council; among the chiefs it was especially the elder men who by their influence secured them audience before the council. When the Athenians reported this vote, it seemed best to Quinctius that he should go to Aetolia: he would either cause them some uncertainty or all men would be witnesses that the responsibility for the war would rest with the Aetolians and that the Romans would take up arms with justice and almost from necessity. After his arrival there Quinctius in the council began with the origin of the alliance of the Aetolians with the Romans and how often the faith imposed by the treaty had been broken by them, and spoke briefly of the status of the cities about which there was debate: if, nevertheless, they considered that they had any just claim, how much better would it be to send ambassadors to Rome,² whether they preferred to arbitrate or to appeal to

B.C. (XXXIII. xlix. 8), one cannot blame the Aetolians for not being impressed by this argument.

quam populum Romanum cum Antiocho lanistis Aetolis non sine magno motu generis humani et perniciē¹ Graeciae dimicare?² Nec ullos prius cladem eius belli sensuros quam qui movissent.
 7 Haec nequiquam velut vaticinatus Romanus. Thoas deinde ceterique factionis eiusdem cum adsensu
 8 omnium auditi pervicerunt ut ne dilato quidem concilio et absentibus Romanis decretum fieret, quo accerseretur Antiochus ad liberandam Graeciam
 9 disceptandumque inter Aetolos et Romanos. Huic tam superbo decreto addidit propriam contumeliam Damocritus praetor eorum: nam cum³ id ipsum decretum posceret eum Quinctius, non veritus
 10 maiestatem viri aliud in praesentia, quod magis instaret, praevertendum sibi esse dixit; decretum responsumque in Italia brevi castris super ripam
 11 Tiberis positum daturum: tantus furor illo tempore gentem Aetolorum, tantus magistratus eorum cepit.
 XXXIV. Quinctius legatque Corinthum redierunt. Inde, ut quaeque de Antiocho...⁴ nihil per se ipsi moti et sedentes expectare adventum viderentur
 2 regis, concilium quidem universae gentis post dimis-

¹ perniciē ς : permittie B.

² dimicare ς : dimicaturō B: dimicature B².

³ cum ed. Frobeniana 1535: tum B.

⁴ lacunam indicavit Weissenborn.

¹ My translation suggests part but not all of the Latin metaphor. The *lanistae* were the trainers of the gladiators, who acted also in the capacity of the managers of modern prize-fighters. Flamininus means that the Romans and Antiochus are to be the gladiators and do the fighting; the Aetolians, as the *lanistae* of both, will get the profits without undergoing personal risk. To call them "umpires" or "marshals of the lists" would inject other and even more erroneous ideas,

the senate, than for the Roman people to go to war B.C. 192 with Antiochus, the Aetolians being the match-makers,¹ not without great disturbance to mankind and the ruin of Greece. Nor would any experience the calamity of this war sooner than those who had caused it. This prophecy, as one might call it, of the Roman was in vain. Thoas then and others of the same party were heard with universal applause and succeeded in carrying a motion, without even adjourning the council or awaiting the departure of the Romans, and by this decree Antiochus was invited to liberate Greece and to arbitrate between the Aetolians and the Romans. To this so insolent vote a personal insult was added by their praetor Damocritus: for when Quinctius asked for the actual decree, he, showing no respect for the high position of the man, replied that there was now a matter which was more pressing which he had to attend to; the decree and the answer he would presently deliver in Italy when his camp was pitched on the banks of the Tiber: ² such madness had at that time seized the Aetolian people and such their magistrates.

XXXIV. Quinctius and the ambassadors returned to Corinth. Then, as each message came from Antiochus, that the Aetolians might not seem to be doing nothing on their own account, but to be sitting still waiting for the coming of the king,³ they held indeed no meeting of the entire people

since both imply disinterestedness and impartiality. For a somewhat similar use of the word see Cicero, *Phil.* XIII. xl.

¹ Cf. XXXVI. xxiv. 12.

³ The lacuna which seems to exist somewhere in this sentence (see the critical note) renders the meaning uncertain. I have supplied what seems to be necessary for both thought and syntax.

A.U.C.
562

3 sos Romanos non habuerunt, per apocletos autem—
 ita vocant sanctius consilium; ex delectis constat
 viris—id agitabant, quonam modo in Graecia res
 4 novarentur. Inter omnes constabat in civitatibus
 principes et optimum quemque Romanae societatis
 esse et praesenti statu gaudere, multitudinem et
 5 quorum res non ex sententia ipsorum essent omnia
 6 novare velle. Aetoli consilium cum rei, tum spei¹
 quoque non audacis modo sed etiam impudentis
 ceperunt, Demetriadem Chalcidem Lacedaemonem
 7 occupandi. Singuli in singulas principes missi sunt,
 Thoas Chalcidem, Alexamenus Lacedaemonem,
 8 Diocles Demetriadem. Hunc exul Eurylochus, de
 cuius fuga causaque fugae ante dictum est, quia
 reditus in patriam nulla alia erat spes, adiuvit.
 7 Litteris Eurylochi admoniti propinqui amicique et
 qui eiusdem factionis erant liberos et coniugem eius
 cum sordida veste, tenentes velamenta supplicum,
 in² contionem frequentem acciverunt³ singulos
 universosque obtestantes ne insontem indemnatum
 8 consensescere in exilio sinerent. Et simplices homines
 misericordia et improbos seditiososque immiscendi

¹ cum rei tum spei *M. Müller* : uno die spei *B⁵* : non dico rei sed spei *M.*

² in *Madvig* : om. *B.*

³ acciverunt *M. Müller* : adierunt *B⁵* : adire iubent *M.*

¹ The institutions of Flamininus (see particularly XXXIV. li. 6) had an aristocratic character, and the Aetolian interpretation of Greek sentiment is in all probability correct. But no Roman who lived in the first century B.C. could say "optimum quemque" without thinking of the political connotations of the phrase in his own time. To such a person the term implied both an "aristocrat" by birth or political success and a political or economic "conservative." More-

after the dismissal of the Romans, but through the *apocletes*—so they call their inner council: it consists of selected persons—they considered the question in what manner revolutions might be caused in all Greece. It was evident to all that in the cities the leading men and all the aristocracy¹ were in favour of the Roman alliance and were pleased with the present state of affairs, while the multitude and those whose affairs were not in the best condition desired a complete change. The Aetolians formed a plan not only bold but even shameless, both in its character and in its expectations, of seizing Demetrias, Chalcis,² and Lacedaemon. One of their chiefs was sent to each city, Thoas to Chalcis, Alexamenus to Lacedaemon, Diocles to Demetrias. The last was aided by the exile Eurylochus, of whose flight and its cause I have spoken above,³ because he had no other hope of restoration to his home. Prompted by the letters of Eurylochus, his relatives and friends and those who belonged to the same party summoned his children and wife, dressed in mourning garb and carrying the badges of suppliants, into a crowded assembly, beseeching one and all not to permit a man, innocent and unjudged, to grow old in exile. And simple-minded men were moved by pity and wicked and seditious men by the hope of causing confusion by

over, to members of that party, but not necessarily to others, it was equivalent to "patriotic." My translation emphasizes what I believe was the Aetolian definition of the word: Livy and his contemporary readers no doubt believed that the true patriots among the Greeks were found in the pro-Roman party.

¹ These were two of the three "fettors of Greece" of XXXII. xxxvii. 4. The Aetolian strategy was skilful.

² Cf. xxxii. 1 above. No formal vote of exile is mentioned.

A.U.C.
562

- res tumultu Aetolico spes movit. Ita¹ pro se quis-
 9 que revocari iubebant. His praeparatis Diocles cum
 omni equitatu—et erat tum praefectus equitum—
 specie reducentis exulem hospitem profectus, die
 ac nocte ingens iter emensus, cum milia sex ab urbe
 abesset, prima luce tribus electis turmis, cetera
 multitudine equitum subsequi iussa, praecessit.
 10 Postquam portae appropinquabat, desilire omnes
 ex equis iussit et loris ducere equos itineris maxime
 modo solutis ordinibus, ut comitatus magis praefecti
 11 videretur quam praesidium. Ibi una ex turmis ad
 portam relictā, ne excludi subsequens equitatus
 posset, media urbe ac per forum manu Eurylochum
 tenens multis occurrentibus gratulantibusque domum
 deduxit. Mox equitum plena urbs erat et loca
 opportuna occupabantur; tum in domos missi qui
 principes adversae factionis interficerent. Ita De-
 metriās Aetolorum facta est.

- XXXV. Lacedaemone non urbi vis adferenda, sed
 2 tyrannus dolo capiendus erat, quem spoliatum mari-
 timis oppidis ab Romanis, tunc intra moenia etiam
 Lacedaemonis ab Achaeis compulsus qui occupasset
 occidere, eum totius gratiam rei apud Lacedaemonios
 3 laturum. Causam mittendi ad eum habuerunt, quod
 fatigabat precibus ut auxilia sibi, cum illis auctoribus
 4 rebellasset, mitterentur. Mille pedites Alexameno

¹ ita *M. Müller* : *om. B.*

means of an Aetolian uprising. Thus each man for B.C. 102
 himself favoured a vote of recall. After these pre-
 liminaries Diocles with all the cavalry—and he was
 then the commander of the cavalry—setting out on
 the pretext of conducting home his exiled friend,
 completing a long march by day and night, when he
 was six miles from the city, at daybreak led the way
 with three picked troops, ordering the rest of the
 cavalry to follow. When he was near the gate he
 ordered them all to dismount and to lead their
 horses by the reins, breaking ranks just as if on a
 journey, that they might appear to be the com-
 mander's escort rather than an organized guard.
 Then, leaving one troop at the gate, that the cavalry
 in the rear might not be shut out, he conducted Eury-
 lochus through the centre of the city and through
 the market-place, clasping him by the hand, while
 many men came up and congratulated him. Pre-
 sently the city was full of troopers and the strategic
 points were occupied; then soldiers were sent to
 the houses to kill the leaders of the opposing party.
 Thus Demetriās fell into the possession of the
 Aetolians.

XXXV. At Lacedaemon the city was not to be
 treated with violence but the tyrant taken by craft;
 he had been stripped of the coast towns by the
 Romans and shut up within the walls of Lacedaemon
 itself by the Achaeans, and whoever took the
 initiative in killing him would win the complete
 gratitude of the Lacedaemonians. As a pretext for
 sending men to him they had the fact that he was
 wearying them with petitions that reinforcements
 be sent to him, since it was at their instance that
 he had rebelled. A thousand infantry were given

A.U.C.
562

dati sunt et triginta delecti ex iuventute equites.
 Iis a praetore Damocrito in consilio arcano gentis,
 5 de quo ante dictum est, denuntiatur ne se ad bellum
 Achaicum aut rem ullam, quam sua quisque opinione
 praecipere posset, crederent missos esse; quidquid
 Alexamenus res monuisset¹ subiti consilii capere,
 ad id, quamvis inopinatum temerarium audax,
 oboedienter exequendum parati essent ac pro eo
 acciperent, tamquam ad id unum agendum missos
 6 ab domo se scirent. Cum his ita praeparatis Alexa-
 menus ad tyrannum venit, quem adveniēns extemplo
 7 spei implevit: Antiochum iam transisse in Europam,
 mox in Graecia fore, terras maria armis viris com-
 pleturum;² non cum Philippo rem esse credituros
 Romanos; numerum iniri peditum equitumque ac
 navium non posse; elephantorum aciem conspectu
 8 ipso debellaturam. Aetolos toto suo exercitu paratos
 esse venire Lacedaemonem, cum res poscat, sed
 frequentes armatos ostendere adveniēti regi voluisse.
 9 Nabidi³ et ipsi faciendum esse, ut quas haberet
 copias non sineret sub tectis marcescere otio, sed
 educeret et in armis decurrere cogeret, simul animos
 10 acueret et corpora exerceret; consuetudine levio-
 rem laborem fore, et comitate ac benignitate ducis etiam
 non iniucundum fieri posse. Educi inde frequenter

¹ monuisset *ed. Parisina* 1510: monuisset et *B*: mouisset *M*.

² completurum *ε*: inpleturum *B*.

³ Nabidi *M. Müller*: Nabidi quoque *B*.

¹ That is, the thirty troopers.

² In xxxiv. 2 above.

Alexamenus and thirty troopers picked from the *B.C.* 193 youth. These¹ were given instructions by the praetor Damocritus in the secret council of the people which was mentioned above,² that they should not believe themselves sent for the Achaean war or for any other purpose that anyone could arrive at by his own conjecture; whatever sudden plan circumstances should prompt Alexamenus to form, they should be prepared to follow obediently, no matter how unexpected, rash and bold it might be, and they should receive it as if they knew that they had been sent from home to do that one thing. With them, thus prepared, Alexamenus came to the tyrant and by his coming immediately filled him with hope: Antiochus, he said, had already crossed into Europe, would soon be in Greece, and would fill the lands and seas with arms and soldiers; the Romans would realize that they were not dealing with Philip; the number of infantry and cavalry and ships could not be calculated; the line of elephants by their very appearance would end the war. The Aetolians with their entire army were ready, he said, to come to Sparta when the situation required, but that they had wished to display their full strength to the king when he arrived. Nabis himself should also take such steps as not to permit what troops he had to grow soft in idleness under roofs, but should lead them out, force them to march under arms and at the same time stimulate their courage and train their bodies; as a result of drill labour would be lighter, and through the courtesy and consideration of their commander could even become not unpleasant. From that time on Nabis began to lead the troops out frequently into

A.U.C.
562

- ante urbem in campum ad Eurotan amnem coepere.
- 11 Satellites tyranni in media fere acie consistebant; tyrannus cum tribus summum equitibus, inter quos plerumque Alexamenus erat, ante signa vectabatur,
- 12 cornua extrema invisens; in dextro cornu Aetoli erant, et qui ante auxiliares tyranni fuerant, et qui
- 13 venerant mille cum Alexameno. Fecerat sibi morem Alexamenus nunc cum tyranno inter paucos ordines circumeundi monendique eum quae in rem esse
- 14 videbantur, nunc in dextrum cornu ad suos adequi- tandi, mox inde velut imperato, quod res poposcisset,
- 15 recipiendi se¹ ad tyrannum. Sed quem diem pa- trando facinori² statuerat, eo paulisper cum tyranno
- 16 vectatus cum ad suos concessisset, tum equitibus ab domo secum missis "agenda" inquit "res est, iuvenes, audendaque quam me duce impigre exequi
- 17 iussi estis; parate animos dextras, ne quis in eo quod me viderit facientem, cesset; qui cunctatus fuerit et suum consilium meo interponet, sciat sibi reditum ad penates non esse." Horror cunctos cepit, et meminerant cum quibus mandatis exissent.
- 18 Tyrannus ab laevo cornu veniebat; ponere hastas equites Alexamenus iubet et se intueri; colligit et ipse animum confusum tantae cogitatione rei. Post- quam appropinquabat, impetum facit et transfixo
- 19 equo tyrannum deturbat; iacentem equites con-

¹ recipiendi se ε: recipiendi B.² patrando facinori *Aldus*: patrandi facinoris ε: parando facinori B.

the plain before the city along the Eurotas river. B.C. 193
The bodyguard of the tyrant was generally posted in the centre of the line; the tyrant, with at most three cavalymen, of whom Alexamenus was usually one, would ride in front of the standards, inspecting the flanks to the end; the Aetolians were on the right of the line, both those who had formerly been with the tyrant and the thousand who had come with Alexamenus. Alexamenus had established the habit for himself now of riding around with the tyrant with only a few attendants and of advising him what seemed to be advantageous, now of riding off to the right flank to his own men and then returning to the tyrant as if he had given some order which the situation demanded. But on the day which he had chosen for the perpetration of the crime, when, after riding for a while with the tyrant, he had returned to his own men, he then addressed the thirty troopers who had been sent from home with him: "We must, young men, do and dare the deed which you were ordered to perform strenuously under my command; prepare your minds and hands that no one may fail in what he sees me do; whoever shall hesitate and substitute his own plan for mine shall know that he has no return to his own home." Horror seized them all, and they remembered with what orders they had left home. The tyrant was coming from the left wing; Alexamenus ordered the cavalry to put their spears in rest and to watch him; he himself also collected his thoughts, disordered by his pondering over so great a deed. When Nabis approached, he charged and piercing his horse overthrew the tyrant; the troopers ran him through as he lay on the ground; after many blows

A.U.C.
562

fodiunt; multis frustra in loricam ictibus datis tandem in nudum corpus vulnera pervenerunt, et priusquam a¹ media acie succurreretur, expiravit.

XXXVI. Alexamenus cum omnibus Aetolis citato gradu ad regiam occupandam pergit. Corporis custodes, cum in oculis res gereretur, pavor primo cepit; deinde, postquam abire Aetolorum agmen videre, concurrunt ad relictum tyranni corpus, et spectatorum turba ex custodibus vitae mortisque ultoribus facta est. Nec movisset se quisquam, si extemplo positis armis vocata in contionem multitudo fuisset et oratio habita temporis conveniens, frequentes inde retenti in armis Aetoli sine iniuria cuiusquam; sed, ut oportuit in consilio fraude coepto, omnia in maturandam perniciem eorum, qui fecerant, sunt acta. Dux regia inclusus diem ac noctem in scrutandis thesauris tyranni absumpsit; Aetoli velut capta urbe, quam liberasse videri volebant, in praedam versi. Simul indignitas rei, simul² contemptus animos Lacedaemoniis ad coeundum fecit. Alii dicere exturbandos Aetolos et libertatem, cum restitui videretur³ interceptam, repetendam; alii, ut caput agenda rei esset, regii generis aliquem in speciem adsumendum. Laconicus

¹ a *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : *om. B.*

² rei simul *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : rei ac simul *B5.*

³ videretur *5* videtur *B.*

had fallen vainly upon his armour the wounds at last reached his unprotected body, and before aid could reach him from the centre of the line the tyrant was dead. B.C. 192

XXXVI. Alexamenus with all the Aetolians went off at full speed to take possession of the palace. The bodyguard, since the deed had been done before their eyes, was at first terror-stricken; then, after they saw the Aetolian column depart, they assembled around the abandoned body of the tyrant, and a crowd of spectators was formed out of the guardians of his life and the avengers of his death. Nor would anyone have stirred if the multitude had at once been summoned to lay aside their arms and attend an assembly and a speech been delivered suitable to the occasion, and thenceforth numerous Aetolians been kept under arms, without doing injury to anyone; but, as was fitting in plans undertaken with treachery, everything worked together to hasten the destruction of those who had committed the crime. Their leader shut himself up in the palace and spent a day and a night in going through the tyrant's treasures; the Aetolians, as if they had captured the city which they wished to seem to have set free, turned to plunder. Their shameless conduct and the contempt in which they were held combined to turn the thoughts of the Lacedaemonians towards unity of action. Some said that the Aetolians should be driven out and the liberty, lost at the moment when it seemed restored, should be regained; others, that there might be some head to the movement, thought that someone of the royal house should be brought forward as a symbol. There was a mere boy of the royal stock,

A.U.C.
562

eius stirpis erat puer admodum, eductus cum liberis tyranni; eum in equum imponunt et armis arreptis
 9 Aetolos vagos per urbem caedunt. Tum regiam invadunt; ibi Alexamenum cum paucis resistentem obtruncant. Aetoli circa Chalcioecon—Minervae
 10 aereum est templum—congregati caeduntur; pauci armis abiectis pars Tegeam pars Megalen polin perfugiunt; ibi comprehensi a magistratibus sub corona venierunt.

XXXVII. Philopoemen audita caede tyranni profectus Lacedaemonem cum omnia turbata metu
 2 invenisset, evocatis principibus et oratione habita, qualis habenda Alexameno fuerat, societati Achaeorum
 3 Lacedaemonios adiunxit, eo etiam facilius quod ad idem forte tempus A. Atilius cum quattuor et viginti quinquere-
 4 midam principem, pulsum opibus eorum, qui Romanae societatis erant, post T. Quinctii legatorumque
 5 adventum, et Herodorum, Cium mercatorem, sed potentem Chalcide propter divitias, praeparatis ad prodicionem iis, qui Euthymidae factionis erant, nequaquam eandem
 6 Eurylochum occupata erat, habuit. Euthymidas ab

¹ legatorumque 5: legatorum B.

² eandem 5: tandem B.

¹ The proper name *Laconicus* is not found elsewhere, and Livy may have understood the adjective *Λακωνικός* as a noun; it is also possible that the text is corrupt.

² The temple is said to have been so named (literally, "bronze house") because the inner walls were decorated with bronze reliefs: cf. Pausanias III. xvii. 3.

³ These communities were Achaean and treated the Aetolians as prisoners of war.

Laconicus,¹ brought up with the sons of the tyrant; s.c. 192 him they set upon a horse, and seizing their weapons they slaughtered the Aetolians as they straggled through the city. Next they attacked the palace. Alexamenus with a few companions resisted them there but was slain. The Aetolians gathered around the Chalcioecus²—this was a bronze temple to Minerva—were killed; a few threw away their arms and fled, some to Tegea, some to Megalopolis; there they were arrested by the magistrates and sold at auction.³

XXXVII. Philopoemen, who on hearing of the tyrant's death had set out for Lacedaemon, when he found everything in a confusion of terror, summoning the leading citizens and making a speech such as Alexamenus should have made, he joined the Lacedaemonians to the Achaean alliance,⁴ with the greater ease because Aulus Atilius chanced at the same time to be approaching Gytheum with twenty-four quinqueremes.

During this period, in the neighbourhood of Chalcis, Thoas, through the agency of Euthymidas, one of the chiefs, who had been driven out by the influence of those who belonged to the Roman party, after the arrival of Titus Quinctius and the commissioners, and also with the aid of Herodorus, a merchant of Cios⁵ but powerful at Chalcis on account of his wealth, having made ready for an uprising the men who were of the party of Euthymidas, did not by any means have the same good fortune that Eurylochus had enjoyed in gaining Demetrias. Euthymidas from Athens—he

⁴ There is no record of any change in the Spartan constitution, and nothing more is heard of the boy on horseback.

⁵ Herodorus was probably from Cios in Bithynia.

A.U.C.
563

Athenis—eum domicilio delegerat locum—Thebas primum, hinc Salganea processit, Herodorus ad
 7 Thronium. Inde haud procul in Maliaco sinu duo milia peditum Thoas et ¹ ducentos equites, onerarias leves ad triginta habebat. Eas cum sexcentis peditibus Herodorus traicere in insulam Atalanten iussus,
 8 ut inde, cum pedestres copias appropinquare iam Aulidi atque Euripo sensisset, Chalcidem traiceret:
 9 ipse ceteras copias nocturnis maxime itineribus, quanta poterat celeritate, Chalcidem ducebat.

XXXVIII. Micythio et Xenoclides, penes quos tum summa rerum pulso Euthymida Chalcide erat, seu ipsi per se suspicati seu indicata re, primo pavidii
 2 nihil usquam spei nisi in fuga ponebant; deinde postquam resedit terror et prodi et deseri non patriam modo sed etiam Romanorum societatem
 3 cernebant, consilio tali animum adiecerunt. Sacrum anniversarium eo forte tempore Eretriae Amarynthidis Dianae erat, quod non popularium modo sed
 4 Carystiorum etiam coetu celebratur. Eo miserunt qui orarent Eretrienses Carystiosque, ut et suarum fortunarum in eadem insula geniti misererentur et Romanam societatem respicerent; ne sinerent Aetolorum Chalcidem fieri; Euboeam habituros, si Chalcidem habuissent; graves fuisse Macedonas dominos; multo minus tolerabiles futuros Aetolos.
 5 Romanorum maxime respectus civitates movit, et
 6 virtutem nuper in bello et ² in victoria iustitiam

¹ Thoas et Crévier: et thoas B.

² et ed. Parisina 1510: om. B.

¹ Their official status is unknown.

² The festival may still have existed in Livy's time, but it is also possible that the present tense of the verb is preserved from the source.

had chosen this place for his home—went first to B.C. 193 Thebes and then to Salganeus, and Herodorus to Thronium. Not far from there, in the Malian gulf, Thoas had two thousand infantry, two hundred cavalry, and about thirty light cargo-vessels. Herodorus was instructed to take these ships with six hundred infantry to the island of Atalante, so that from there, when he saw the infantry now approaching Aulis and Euripus, he might cross to Chalcis; Thoas himself led the rest of the troops, generally marching by night and with all possible speed, to Chalcis.

XXXVIII. Micythio and Xenoclides, in whose hands rested supreme power ¹ after Euthymidas had been expelled from Chalcis, whether they formed their own suspicions or the plot was betrayed, at first were alarmed and placed no trust in anything but flight; then, when their terror subsided and they realized that they would be deserting and abandoning not only their country but also the Roman alliance, they increased their courage by the following scheme. It happened that at this time there was an annual festival at Eretria in honour of Diana Amarynthiis, which crowds both of the natives and of the Carystii attend.² They sent there men to beg the people of Eretria and Carystus, born on the same island, to pity their plight and respect the Roman alliance; let them not permit Chalcis to become the property of the Aetolians; they would control Euboea if once they controlled Chalcis; the Macedonians had been hard to endure as masters; the Aetolians would be far less easy to bear. Regard for the Romans had especial influence with the states, which had recently had experience of both their valour in war and their justice and kindness in vic-

benignitatemque expertas. Itaque quod roboris in iuventute erat utraque civitas armavit misitque.
 7 Iis tuenda moenia Chalcidis oppidani cum tradidissent, ipsi omnibus copiis transgressi Euripum ad
 8 Salganea posuerunt castra. Inde caduceator primum, deinde legati ad Aetolos missi percunctatum, quo suo dicto factove socii atque amici ad se oppugnandos
 9 venirent. Respondit Thoas, dux Aetolorum, non ad oppugnandos sed ad liberandos ab Romanis
 10 venire sese; splendidiore nunc eos catena, sed multo graviore vinctos esse quam cum praesidium Macedonum in arce habuissent. Se vero negare Chalcidenses aut servire ulli aut praesidio cuiusquam
 11 egere. Ita digressi ex colloquio legati ad suos; Thoas et Aetoli, ut qui spem omnem in eo ut im-
 12 proviso opprimerent, habuissent, ad iustum bellum oppugnationemque urbis mari ac terra munitae
 13 haudquaquam pares, domum rediere. Euthymidas postquam castra popularium ad Salganea esse perfectosque Aetolos audivit, et ipse a Thebis Athenas
 14 rediit; et Herodorus cum per aliquot dies intentus ab Atalante signum nequiquam expectasset, missa speculatoria nave, ut quid morae esset sciret, postquam rem omissam ab sociis vidit, Thronium unde venerat repetit.

XXXIX. Quintius quoque his auditis, ab Corintho veniens navibus, in Chalcidico Euripo Eumeni regi
 2 occurrit. Placuit quingentos milites praesidii causa

¹ Livy has not mentioned before the presence of Eumenes in Greece.

tory. Therefore whatever strength in young men each state had it armed and sent. When the townspeople had turned over to them the defence of the walls of Chalcis, they themselves with all their forces crossed the Euripus and pitched camp near Salganea. Thence first a herald and then ambassadors were sent to the Aetolians to inquire what word or action on their part had brought allies and friends to attack them. Thoas, the Aetolian chieftain, replied that they were coming, not to besiege them, but to set them free from the Romans; now a more glittering chain, but a far heavier one, bound them than when they had a Macedonian garrison in their citadel. The Chalcidenses, however, denied that they were slaves to any man or that they needed the protection of anyone. So, leaving the conference, the ambassadors returned to their people; Thoas and the Aetolians, inasmuch as they had placed all their hopes on the chance of catching them off guard, since they were by no means equal to a regular war and the siege of a city well fortified by sea and land, returned home. After Euthymidas learned that the camp of his countrymen had been pitched at Salganea and that the Aetolians had gone, he himself also returned from Thebes to Athens, and Herodorus, after waiting several days in vain, anxiously watching from Atalante for a signal, sending out a scouting vessel to ascertain what was causing the delay, when he learned that the attempt had been abandoned by his allies, returned to Thronium whence he had come.

XXXIX. Quintius also, hearing of this, came from Corinth by ship and in the Chalcidian Euripus met King Eumenes.¹ It was decided that five hundred

A.U.C.
562

relinqui Chalcide ab Eumene rege, ipsum Athenas
 3 ire. Quinctius quo profectus erat Demetriadem
 contendit, ratus Chalcidem liberatam momenti
 aliquid apud Magnetas ad repetendam societatem
 4 Romanam facturam et, ut praesidii aliquid esset
 suae partis hominibus, Eunomo praetori Thessa-
 lorum scripsit, ut armaret iuventutem, et Villium¹
 ad Demetriadem praemisit ad temptandos animos,
 non aliter, nisi pars aliqua inclinaret ad respectum
 5 pristinae societatis, rem adgressurus. Villius quin-
 queremi nave ad ostium portus est invectus. Eo
 multitudo omnis Magnetum cum se effudisset,
 quaesivit Villius utrum ad amicos an ad hostes venisse
 6 se mallent. Respondit Magnetarches Eurylochus
 ad amicos venisse eum; sed abstineret portu et
 sineret Magnetas in concordia et libertate esse nec
 per colloqui speciem multitudinem sollicitaret.
 7 Altercatio inde, non sermo fuit, cum Romanus ut
 ingratos increparet Magnetas imminentesque prae-
 diceret clades, multitudo obstreperet nunc senatum
 nunc Quinctium accusando. Ita irritum incepto
 8 Villius ad Quinctium sese recepit. At Quinctius
 nuntio ad praetorem misso, ut reduceret domum
 copias, ipse navibus Corinthum rediit.

XL. Abstulere me velut de spatio Graeciae res
 immixtae Romanis, non quia ipsas operae pretium

¹ Villium *edd. vet.*: *om. B.*

men should be left at Chalcis as a guard by King B.C. 192
 Eumenes and that the king himself should go to
 Athens. Quinctius hurried to Demetrias, for which
 he had set out, in the belief that the liberation of
 Chalcis would have some effect upon the Magnetes
 in favour of renewing the Roman alliance and, that
 there might be some protection for the men of his
 party, he wrote to Eunomus, the praetor of the
 Thessalians, that he should arm his young men,
 and he sent Villius ahead to Demetrias, to test
 their sentiments, without any intention of attempt-
 ing any action unless some portion of them was
 disposed to have regard for the former alliance.
 Villius, in a ship of five banks of oars, sailed up to
 the mouth of the harbour. When all the people of
 the Magnetes had rushed there, Villius asked whether
 they would prefer that he had come to friends
 or to enemies. Eurylochus the Magnetarch replied
 that he came to friends; but he should keep out of
 the harbour and permit the Magnetes to live in
 harmony and liberty and should not, under the
 pretence of a conference, stir up the populace.
 Then there was a violent argument, not a conversa-
 tion, the Roman reproaching the Magnetes for in-
 gratitude and foretelling impending disaster, the
 crowd raising an uproar while accusing now the
 senate and now Quinctius. So without accomplishing
 anything Villius rejoined Quinctius. But Quinctius
 sent a messenger to the praetor to lead his troops
 back home and himself with his ships returned to
 Corinth.

XL. I have been driven out of my course, so to say,
 by blending events in Greece with those in Rome,
 not because they were worth the effort of recording

U.C.
562

esset perscribere, sed quia causae cum Antiocho
 2 fuerunt belli. Consulibus designatis—inde namque
 deverteram—L. Quinctius et Cn. Domitius consules
 in provincias profecti sunt, Quinctius in Ligures,
 3 Domitius adversus Boios. Boi quieverunt, atque
 etiam senatus eorum cum liberis et praefecti cum
 equitatu—summa omnium mille et quingenti—con-
 4 suli dederunt se. Ab altero consule ager Ligurum
 late est vastatus castellaque aliquot capta, unde
 non praeda modo omnis generis cum captivis parta,
 sed recepti quoque aliquot cives sociique, qui in
 5 hostium potestate fuerant. Eodem hoc anno Vibo-
 nem colonia deducta est ex senatus consulto plebique
 scito. Tria milia et septingenti pedites ierunt,
 6 trecenti equites; triumviri deduxerunt eos Q.
 Naevius M. Minucius M. Furius Crassipes¹; quina
 dena iugera agri data in singulos pedites sunt,
 duplex equiti. Bruttiorum proxime fuerat ager;
 7 Brutti ceperant de Graecis. Romae per idem tem-
 pus duo maximi fuerunt terrores, diutinus alter, sed
 segnior: terra dies duodequadraginta movit; per
 totidem dies feriae in sollicitudine ac metu fuere;

¹ Crassipes ed. Frobeniana 1531: crassus B5.

¹ This narrative is somewhat inconsistent with that previously given, and probably came from another source. In x. 10 the election of Quinctius and Domitius was reported; the assignment of provinces was postponed to xx. 2-7, to make room for the account of developments in the east. Their achievements in the provinces were summarily recorded in xxii. 3-4, with only slight variations from the later version, and at xxiv. 3 Quinctius returned to hold the elections at which Scipio and Glabrio were chosen consuls for 191 B.C. In this passage, however, Livy seems to keep both consuls in Rome until after the elections, forgetting that Domitius was

them, but because they were the origins of the war B.C. 192 with Antiochus. When the consuls were elected—for this was the point at which I turned aside—Lucius Quinctius and Gnaeus Domitius departed to their provinces, Quinctius to the Ligures, Domitius against the Boii. The Boii remained quiet, and their senate with their children and the commanders with the cavalry—there were altogether fifteen hundred of them—even surrendered themselves to the consul. The other consul devastated the Ligurian country far and wide and captured some forts from which they not only secured plunder of all kinds, along with prisoners, but also recovered some citizens and allies who had been in the hands of the enemy.¹ In the same year a colony was established at Vibo in accordance with a decree of the senate and an enactment of the assembly. Three thousand seven hundred infantry went there and three hundred cavalrymen; the commission which established it consisted of Quintus Naevius, Marcus Minucius and Marcus Furius Crassipes; fifteen *iugera* of land were given to each infantryman and twice that to each cavalryman. The land had recently belonged to the Brutti; they in turn had taken it from the Greeks. At Rome in the same period there were two very serious alarms, one of longer duration but slower in its effect, for the earth trembled through thirty-eight days; for so many days there was a holiday spent in appre-

already in Gaul, according to the earlier account. He seems too to forget that the proconsul Minucius had been assigned to the Ligures (xx. 6). A further difference will be seen in the following sections: the source of chap. xxii went on to record events in Spain, and a possible duplication was pointed out in the note to xxii. 8; the source which Livy followed in chap. xl. continued with happenings at Rome.

A.U.C.
662

8 triduum¹ eius rei causa supplicatio habita est; ille non pavor vanus, sed vera multorum clades fuit: incendio a foro Boario orto diem noctemque aedificia in Tiberim versa arsere, tabernaeque omnes cum magni pretii mercibus conflagraverunt.

XLI. Iam fere in exitu annus erat, et in dies magis² et fama de bello Antiochi et cura patribus³ crescebat; itaque de provinciis designatorum magistratuum, quo intentiores essent omnes, agitari⁴ coeptum est. Decrevit ut consulibus Italia et quo senatus censuisset—eam⁵ esse bellum adversus Antiochum regem omnes sciebant—provinciae essent.

4 Cuius ea sors esset, quattuor milia peditum civium Romanorum et trecenti equites, sex milia socium Latini nominis cum quadringentis equitibus sunt

5 decreta. Eorum dilectum habere L. Quinctius consul iussus, ne quid moraretur quo minus consul novus quo senatus censuisset extemplo proficisci posse.

6 Item de provinciis praetorum decretum est,⁴ prima ut sors duae, urbanae⁵ et inter cives ac peregrinos iurisdictio esset, secunda Brutti, tertia classis, ut navigaret quo senatus censuisset, quarta Sicilia,

7 quinta Sardinia, sexta Hispania ulterior. Imperatum praeterea L. Quinctio consuli est ut duas

¹ triduum *Siesbye*: in triduum *B*.

² magis *edd. vet.*: magna *B*.

³ eam *Madvig*: iam *B*.

⁴ decretum est *ϛ*: decretum *B*.

⁵ urbanae *ϛ*: urbana *B*.

¹ This "cattle-market" lay between the Circus Maximus and the Tiber.

² The continued presence of Quinctius in Rome is more consistent with the account in xxiv. 2 than with that in xl. 2.

hension and fear; by reason of this occurrence a *B.C.* 193 three-day period of prayer was held; the other was no idle panic but actual destruction to many: a fire broke out in the Forum Boarium,¹ and for a day and a night the buildings facing the Tiber burned, and all the shops with merchandise of great value were consumed.

XLI. The year was now almost at an end and the talk about the war with Antiochus and the concern of the Fathers were growing greater and greater from day to day; in order, therefore, that all might be more attentive to duty, the question of provinces for the magistrates-elect began to be considered. They decreed that for the consuls Italy and wherever the senate ordered—that this province would be the war against King Antiochus was known to everyone—should be the provinces. The one to whom the latter lot fell was authorized to enlist four thousand Roman citizens for the infantry and three hundred cavalry and six thousand allies of the Latin confederacy with four hundred cavalry. The enrolment of these troops Lucius Quinctius the consul² was ordered to undertake, that nothing might delay the new consul from going at once to whatever place the senate should have ordered. Moreover, regarding the provinces of the praetors, it was decided that the first lot should cover the two jurisdictions, that between citizens and that between citizens and aliens, the second the Brutti, the third the fleet, to sail wherever the senate should have directed, the fourth Sicily, the fifth Sardinia, the sixth Farther Spain.³ Instructions were also given to Lucius Quinctius the consul to

² The other provinces would be governed by proconsuls or propraetors, who are not here designated.

A.U.C.
562

legiones civium Romanorum novas conscriberet et socium ac Latini nominis viginti milia peditum et octingentos equites. Eum exercitum praetori cui Brutti provincia evenisset decreverunt.

8 Aedes duae Iovis eo anno in Capitolio dedicatae sunt; voverat L. Furius Purpurio praetor Gallico bello unam, alteram consul; dedicavit Q. Marcius Ralla
9 duumvir. Iudicia in faeneratores eo anno multa severe sunt facta accusantibus privatos aedilibus
10 curulibus M. Tuccio et P. Iunio Bruto. De multa damnatorum quadrigae inauratae in Capitolio positae, et in cella Iovis supra fastigium aediculae et duodecim clupea inaurata, et iidem porticum extra portam Trigeminam inter lignarios fecerunt.

XLII. Intentis in apparatus novae belli Romanis
2 ne ab Antiocho quidem cessabatur. Tres eum civitates tenebant, Zmyrna et Alexandria Troas et Lampsacus, quas neque vi expugnare ad eam diem poterat neque condicionibus in amicitiam perlicere, neque ab tergo relinquere traiciens ipse in Europam volebat. Tenuit eum et de Hannibale deliberatio.
3 Et primo naves apertae, quas cum eo missurus in
4 Africam fuerat, moratae sunt; deinde an omnino mittendus esset, consultatio mota est, maxime a Thoante Aetolo, qui omnibus in Graecia tumultu

¹ Cf. XXXIV. liii. 7 and the note. The account of these temples and of the career of Furius is badly confused.

² These prosecutions may have been laid under the Sempronian legislation mentioned at vii. 5 above.

³ The segregation of industries in Rome made it possible to use such terms as addresses, since nothing more accurate existed: cf. *inter falcarios* in Cicero, *Cat.* I. 8.

⁴ Zmyrna and Lampsacus were mentioned in xvi. 3 as cities which Antiochus was trying to recover; Alexandria Troas

raise two new legions of Roman citizens and from the allies of the Latin confederacy twenty thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. This army was decreed to the praetor to whom the Brutti should have been allotted as a province.

Two temples to Jupiter were dedicated that year on the Capitoline; Lucius Furius Purpurio¹ had vowed one while praetor in the Gallic war, the other while consul; the dedication was performed by Quintus Marcius Ralla the duumvir. Many prosecutions that year were directed against usurers,² the curule aediles Marcus Tuccius and Publius Junius Brutus bringing charges against private citizens. From the fines imposed on the condemned, gilded four-horse chariots were set up on the Capitoline and in the inner room of the temple of Jupiter, above the roof of the shrine, twelve gilded shields were also placed, and the same men built a portico outside the Porta Trigemina in the wood-dealers' quarter.³

XLII. While the Romans were concentrating on the preparations for the new war, there was no idleness on the part of Antiochus either. Three cities were detaining him, Zmyrna and Alexandria Troas and Lampsacus,⁴ which he had up to that time been able neither to take by assault nor to win over to friendship by negotiations, nor was he willing to leave them in his rear when he crossed to Greece. The question of Hannibal also detained him. And at first the open ships which he had planned to send with him to Africa were delayed; then the question whether he should be sent at all was raised, particularly by Thoas the Aetolian, who, after everything

was one of the other cities of xvi. 6 above. The events now related belong to the period 192-191 B.C.

A.U.C.
562

completis Demetriadem adferebat in potestate esse
 5 et, quibus mendaciis de rege, multiplicando verbis
 copias eius, erexerat multorum in Graecia animos,
 iisdem et regis spem inflabat: omnium votis eum
 accersi, concursum ad littora futurum, unde classem
 6 regiam prospexissent. Hic idem ausus de Hannibale
 est movere sententiam prope iam certam regis.
 Nam neque dimittendam partem navium a classe
 7 regia censebat, neque, si mittendae naves forent,
 minus quemquam ei classi quam Hannibalem prae-
 ficiendum: exulem illum et Poenum esse, cui mille
 in dies nova consilia vel fortuna sua vel ingenium
 9 possit facere, et ipsam eam gloriam belli, qua velut
 dote Hannibal concilietur, nimiam in praefecto regio
 esse. Regem conspici, regem unum ducem, unum
 10 imperatorem videri debere. Si classem, si exercitum
 amittat Hannibal, idem damni fore ac si per alium
 ducem amittantur; si quid prospere eveniat, Hanni-
 11 balis eam, non Antiochi gloriam fore; si vero universo
 bello vincendi Romanos fortuna detur, quam spem
 esse sub rege victurum Hannibalem, uni subiectum,
 12 qui patriam prope¹ non tulerit? Non ita se a
 iuventa eum gessisse, spe animoque complexum orbis
 terrarum imperium, ut in senectute dominum laturus
 videatur. Nihil opus esse regi duce Hannibale;

¹ patriam prope 5: patriam B.

¹ The rhetoric of Thoas gives him some neat balances, *exulem: fortuna; Poenum: ingenium*, and furnishes Livy with another chance to play upon his favourite theme, *Punica fides*.

in Greece had been thrown into confusion, brought
 word that Demetrius was in his power, and with
 lies like those about the king, with which, multiply-
 ing his forces in his harangues, he had roused the
 passions of many in Greece, he excited the hopes of
 the king also: the prayers of all were calling him,
 there would be a rush to the shore from which they
 could catch glimpses of the royal fleet. This same
 man dared to try to change the king's decision about
 Hannibal, now almost fully determined. For he said
 that part of the ships should by no means be detached
 from the royal fleet, nor, if ships should be sent, was
 any man less fit than Hannibal to be placed in com-
 mand: he was an exile and a Carthaginian, to whom
 either his own luck or his wit could suggest a thousand
 new schemes a day,¹ and Hannibal's military fame
 endowed him with a distinction which was out of place
 in a mere officer of a king. The king, he said,
 ought to be the centre of interest, ought to be
 regarded as the single leader, the single general.
 If Hannibal should lose a fleet or an army, the loss
 would be the same as if they were lost by any other
 leader; if any success were attained, to Hannibal,
 not to Antiochus, would the credit accrue; but if in
 the whole war the fortune of conquering the Romans
 should be vouchsafed them, what hope was there that
 Hannibal would live under a king, subject to an
 individual, when he had practically failed to endure
 the rule of his own country? He had not conducted
 himself from youth up, cherishing in his hopes and
 thoughts the sovereignty of the world, in such a way
 that in his old age he would be ready, as it seemed,
 to suffer a master. The king, he concluded, had no
 need of Hannibal as a commander; as a companion

B.C. 192

- A.V.G.
562 13 comite et consiliario eodem ad bellum uti posse.
14 Modicum fructum ex ingenio tali neque gravem neque inutilem fore; si summa petantur, et dantem et accipientem praegravatura.

XLIII. Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam sunt quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam suam animis non aequant, quia virtutem et bonum alienum oderunt. Extemplo consilium mittendi Hannibalis, quod unum in principio belli utiliter cogitatum erat, abiectum 2 est. Demetriadis maxime defectione ab Romanis ad Aetolos elatus non ultra differre profectionem in 3 Graeciam constituit. Priusquam solveret naves, Ilium a mari descendit,¹ ut Minervae sacrificaret. Inde ad classem regressus proficiscitur quadraginta tectis² navibus, apertis sexaginta, et ducentae onerariae cum omnis generis commeatu bellicoque alio 4 apparatu sequebantur. Imbrum primo insulam tenuit; inde Sciathum traiecit; ubi collectis in alto quae dissipatae erant navibus ad Pteleum primum 5 continentis venit. Ibi Eurylochus ei Magnetarches principesque Magnetum ab Demetriadi occurrerunt; quorum frequentia laetus die postero in portum urbis navibus est invecus; copias haud procul inde exposuit. 6 Decem milia peditum fuere et quingenti equites, sex elephantum, vix ad Graeciam nudam occupandam satis copiarum, nedum ad sustinendum Romanum bellum.

¹ descendit ς : descendit B.

² tectis ed. *Mediolanensis* 1505: lectis B.

¹ Nepos (Hannibal viii. 1) asserts that Hannibal was actually sent to Africa, but without a fleet. Speculation as to the facts and as to the consequences if Hannibal had been able to draw Carthage into the war is interesting but fruitless.

² After the extravagances of the earlier reports, the small size of the expeditionary force which actually landed must have seemed an anticlimax to others than Antiochus (xliv. 4)
126

and as an adviser he could use such a man for the war. A moderate employment of such talents would be neither dangerous nor unprofitable; if the greatest use of them were made, it would ruin both the giver and the receiver.

XLIII. No dispositions are so prone to envy as those of men whose abilities do not correspond to their birth and fortune, because they hate excellence and good qualities in another. Immediately the plan of sending Hannibal, which was the only good thing thought of at the beginning of the war, was laid aside.¹ The king, especially rejoiced at the revolt of Demetrius from the Romans to the Aetolians, decided not to postpone longer his departure for Greece. Before he set sail he went up from the coast to Ilium to offer sacrifice to Minerva. Thence he returned and departed with forty decked and sixty open vessels, while two hundred cargo-ships, with all kinds of supplies and equipment for war, followed. He first steered for the island of Imbros; thence crossed to Sciathos; there he first collected the ships that had been scattered in the open sea and arrived at Pteleum, the first point on the mainland. There Eurylochus the Magnetarch and the chiefs of the Magnetes from Demetrius met him, and rejoicing at their number on the next day he sailed into the harbour of the city with his fleet; his troops he landed not far away. There were ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry and six elephants, a force scarcely sufficient to take possession of Greece if it were undefended, not to mention the necessity of resistance to the Romans.²

and Flamininus (xlix. 9), and it is strange that Livy makes no further mention of the subject.

A.U.C.
562

7 Aetoli, postquam Demetriadem venisse Antiochum
adlatum est, concilio indicto decretum quo accerse-
8 rent eum fecerunt. Iam profectus ab Demetriade
rex, quia ita decreturos sciebat, Phalara in sinum
9 Maliacum processerat. Inde decreto accepto Lami-
am venit, exceptus ingenti favore multitudinis cum
plausibus clamoribusque et quibus aliis laetitia effusa
vulgi significatur.¹

XLIV. In concilium ut ventum est, aegre a
Phaenea praetore principibusque aliis introductus
2 facto silentio dicere orsus rex. Prima eius oratio fuit
excusantis,² quod tanto minoribus spe atque opinione
3 omnium copiis venisset. Id suae impensae erga eos
voluntatis maximum debere indicium esse, quod
nec paratus satis ulla re et tempore ad navigandum
immaturum vocantibus legatis eorum haud gravate
obsecutus esset credidissetque, cum se vidissent
Aetoli, omnia vel in se uno posita praesidia existi-
4 maturos esse. Ceterum eorum quoque se, quorum
expectatio destituta in praesentia videatur, spem
5 abunde expleturum: nam simul primum anni tem-
pus navigabile prae buisset mare, omnem se Graeciam
armis viris equis,³ omnem oram maritimam classibus
6 completurum, nec impensae nec labori nec periculo
parsurum, donec depulso cervicibus eorum imperio
Romano liberam vere Graeciam atque in ea principes
7 Aetolos fecisset. Cum exercitibus commeatus quo-

¹ vulgi significatur *Aldus*: vulgo significatur *B*: signifi-
cabatur vulgi *M*.

² excusantis *ed. Moguntina* 1518: primo excusantis *B*.

³ equis *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: equisque *B*.

¹ The phrase indicates that Antiochus crossed the Aegean
in the fall (of 192 B.C.), after the storms had begun, instead of
waiting for the next spring.

The Aetolians, after it was reported that Antiochus B.C. 192
had arrived at Demetrias, called a council and con-
firmed the decree by which they had invited him.
The king had already left Demetrias, knowing that
they would vote thus, and had come to Phalara on
the Malian gulf. Thence, after receiving the decree,
he came to Lamia and was welcomed with great
enthusiasm on the part of the populace, with hand-
clappings and shouts and the other demonstrations
with which the unrestrained joy of a crowd is
expressed.

XLIV. When they came to the council, silence
being with difficulty obtained, the king was intro-
duced by Phaeneas the praetor and the other chiefs
and began to speak. The opening of his speech was
an apology because he had come with forces so much
smaller than everyone had hoped and expected.
This, he said, should be the best proof of the good-
will which he felt for them, because, although not
fully prepared in any respect and at a premature
time¹ for sailing, at the summons of their ambas-
sadors he had obeyed without objection and had
believed that when the Aetolians saw him they would
consider that all their hope of safety depended on
himself alone. But the hopes, even of those whose
expectations seemed disappointed for the moment,
he would realize to the full: for as soon as the early
season of the year made the sea navigable he would
fill all Greece with arms, men, horses, the whole sea-
coast with ships, and would spare no expense nor toil
nor danger until, with the Roman yoke removed from
their necks, he had made Greece free in truth and
the Aetolians the foremost people in the land. With
the armies, supplies of every kind also would come

A.U.C.
562

que omnis generis ex Asia venturos; in praesentia curae esse Aetolis debere, ut copia frumenti suis et annona tolerabilis rerum aliarum suppeditetur.

XLV. In hanc sententiam rex cum magno omnium
2 adsensu locutus discessit. Post discessum regis inter
duos principes Aetolorum, Phaeneam et Thoantem,
3 contentio fuit. Phaeneas reconciliatore pacis et
disceptatore de iis quae in controversia cum populo
Romano essent utendum potius Antiocho censebat
4 quam duce belli: adventum eius et maiestatem ad
verecundiam faciendam Romanis vim maiorem habi-
turam quam arma; multa homines, ne bellare necesse
sit, voluntate remittere, quae bello et armis cogi
5 non possint. Thoas negare paci studere Phaeneam,
sed discutere apparatus belli velle, ut taedio et
impetus relanguescat regis et Romani tempus ad
6 comparandum habeant: nihil enim aequi ab Romanis
impetrari posse totiens legationibus missis Romam,
totiens cum ipso Quinctio disceptando satis expertum
esse, nec nisi abscisa omni spe auxilium Antiochi
7 imploratos fuisse. Quo celerius spe omnium
oblato non esse elanguescendum, sed orandum potius
regem ut, quoniam, quod maximum fuerit, ipse
vindex Graeciae venerit, copias quoque terrestres
8 navalesque accersat. Armatum regem aliquid im-
petraturum; inermem non pro Aetolis modo, sed
ne pro se quidem ipso momenti ullius futurum apud

¹ With unusual politeness, Thoas refrains from calling Phaeneas a pro-Roman.

from Asia; in the meantime the responsibility should rest upon the Aetolians of supplying him with abundance of grain for his men and with other things at a fair price.

XLV. Having spoken thus amid loud applause from all, the king left the meeting. After the withdrawal of the king an argument arose between two chiefs of the Aetolians, Phaeneas and Thoas. Phaeneas thought that they should use Antiochus as a restorer of peace and as an arbitrator in those matters which were in dispute with the Roman people rather than as a leader in war: his arrival and his majesty would be more effectual than arms in causing the Romans to observe moderation; men, to avoid the necessity of fighting, would make many voluntary concessions which they could not be compelled to make by war and arms. Thoas asserted that Phaeneas was not interested in peace but was trying to delay preparations for war, that through weariness the energy of the king might relax and also that the Romans might have time for preparation: it was well established by sending so many embassies to Rome and holding so many conferences with Quinctius himself, that no justice could be obtained from the Romans, nor would they have asked aid from Antiochus if all hope had not been lost.¹ Since this aid had arrived sooner than anyone expected, there should be, he said, no diminution of effort, but rather the king should be asked, since he had come in person as the avenger of Greece, which was the all-important thing, to summon also his military and naval forces. The king in arms would obtain something; unarmed, he would not have the slightest influence with the Romans, either for the

A.U.C.
562

9 Romanos. Haec vicit sententia, imperatoremque regem appellandum censuerunt et triginta principes, cum quibus si qua vellet consultaret, delegerunt.

XLVI. Ita dimisso concilio multitudo omnis in 2 suas civitates dilapsa est; rex postero die cum apocletis eorum unde bellum ordiretur, consultabat. Optimum visum est Chalcidem, frustra ab Aetolis nuper temptatam, primum adgredi; et celeritate magis in eam rem quam magno conatu et apparatu 3 opus esse. Itaque cum mille peditibus rex qui ab Demetriade secuti erant profectus per Phocidem est, et alio itinere principes Aetoli iuniorum paucis evocatis ad Chaeroniam occurrerunt et decem navi- 4 bus constratis secuti sunt. Rex ad Salganea castris positus navibus ipse cum principibus Aetolorum Euripum traiecit, et, cum haud procul portu egressus esset, magistratus quoque Chalcidensium et principes ante portam processerunt. Pauci utrimque ad col- 5 loquium congressi sunt. Aetoli magno opere suadere ut salva Romanorum amicitia regem quoque adsu- 6 merent socium atque amicum: neque enim eum inferendi belli, sed liberandae Graeciae causa in Europam traiecis- se, et liberandae re,¹ non verbis 7 et simulatione, quod fecissent Romani; nihil autem utilius Graeciae civitatibus esse quam utramque complecti amicitiam; ita enim ab utriusque iniuria 8 tutas² alterius semper praesidio et fiducia fore. Nam si non recepissent regem, viderent, quid patien- dum iis extemplo foret, cum Romanorum procul auxilium, hostis Antiochus, cui resistere suis viribus

¹ et liberandae re *Drakenborch*: liberanda re *B*: et re liberandae *M*: liberandae re *5*.

² tutas *Duker*: tutan *B*.

Aetolians or even for himself. This opinion prevailed, B.C. 192 and they voted that the king should be named commander-in-chief and chose thirty of the leaders with whom, if he wished, he could consult.

XLVI. The council being thus adjourned, the people all scattered to their own cities; the king next day consulted the *apocletes* as to where the war should begin. It seemed best first to attack Chalcis, on which an attempt had recently been made in vain by the Aetolians; and it was agreed that speed was more necessary for this purpose than great strength or preparation. The king therefore with a thousand infantry who had come with him from Demetrias set out through Phocis and by another road the chiefs of the Aetolians, calling out a few of their young men, hastened to Chaeronia and followed in ten decked ships. The king himself encamped at Salganeus and crossed the Euripus by boat with the Aetolian chiefs and, since he had disembarked not far from the harbour, the magistrates of the Chalcidenses also and the foremost citizens came out before the gate. A few from each side met for a conference. The Aetolians urged them strongly while retaining the Roman friendship to take the king also as an ally and friend: for he had not come to Europe to make war but to free Greece, and to free it in reality, not in words and pretence, as the Romans had done; nothing, moreover, was more useful to the Greek cities than to embrace both friendships, for thus they would always be guarded by the protection and good faith of the one from the injustice of the other. For if they did not receive the king, they would see at once what they would have to endure, when Roman aid was far away and Antiochus, an enemy whom they

A.U.C.
562

9 non possent, ante portas esset. Ad haec Micythio, unus ex principibus, mirari se dixit ad quos liberandos Antiochus relicto regno suo in Europam traiecisset: 10 nullam enim civitatem se in Graecia nosse quae aut praesidium habeat, aut stipendium Romanis pendat, aut foedere iniquo adligata quas nolit leges patiatur: 11 itaque Chalcidenses neque vindice libertatis ullo egere, cum liberi sint, neque praesidio, cum pacem eiusdem populi Romani beneficio et libertatem 12 habeant. Amicitiam regis non aspernari nec ipsorum Aetolorum. Id primum eos pro amicis facturos, si 13 insula excedant¹ atque abeant: nam ipsis certum esse non modo non recipere moenibus, sed ne societatem quidem ullam pacisci nisi ex auctoritate Romanorum.

XLVII. Haec renunciata regi ad naves ubi restiterat cum essent, in praesentia—neque enim iis² venerat copiis ut vi³ agere quicquam posset—reverti 2 Demetriadem placuit. Ibi, quoniam primum vanum ineptum evasisset, consultare cum Aetolis rex, quid deinde fieret. Placuit Boeotos⁴ Achaeos Amyndrum regem Athamanum temptare. Boeotorum gentem aversam ab Romanis iam inde a Brachyllae morte et quae secuta eam fuerant, censebant; 4 Achaeorum Philopoemenem principem aemulatione gloriae in bello Laconum infestum invisumque esse

¹ excedant ς : cedant *B*.² iis ς : his *B*.³ vi ς : vel *B*.⁴ Boeotos *Perizonius*: om. *B*.

¹ Micythio claims for Chalcis all the normal characteristics of a free state; the final sentence of the chapter is not inconsistent, since Chalcis was at liberty to make any alliance it chose, but would voluntarily submit to Rome's judgment on such matters.

could not withstand by their own might, was at their gates. At this Micythio, one of the chiefs, said that he wondered for whose liberation Antiochus had left his own kingdom and crossed to Europe: for he knew no state in Greece which had a garrison or paid tribute to the Romans or suffered, under the compulsion of an unfair treaty, laws which it did not wish¹; therefore the people of Chalcis needed neither any champion of their liberty, since they were free, nor any protection, since by the kindness of the same Roman people they enjoyed peace along with liberty. They did not reject, he said, the friendship of the king nor that of the Aetolians themselves. In their capacity as friends their first act would be to retire from the island and go away: for they were determined not only not to admit them within the walls, but not to conclude any alliance even except in accordance with the authorization of the Romans.

XLVII. When this answer had been conveyed to the king at the ships where he had stayed, for the present—for he had not come with such strength that he could undertake any forcible measures—it was decided to return to Demetrias. There, since their first venture had proved fruitless, the king consulted with the Aetolians what should be done next. It was agreed to try the Boeotians, the Achaeans, and Amynder, king of the Athamanes. They believed that the Boeotians had been unfriendly to the Romans ever since the death of Brachyllas and the events which followed²; they thought that the Achaean magistrate Philopoemen, since he had become a rival in fame as a result of the war in Lacedaemon, was hostile to and hated by

² Cf. XXXIII. xxviii. 1 ff.

A.U.C.
562

5 Quinctio credebant. Amynander uxorem Apamam, filiam Alexandri cuiusdam Megalopolitani, habebat, qui se oriundum a magno Alexandro ferens filius duobus Philippum atque¹ Alexandrum et filiae 6 Apamam nomina imposuerat; quam regiis iunctam² nuptiis maior ex fratribus Philippus secutus in Athamania fuerat. Hunc forte ingenio vanum Aetoli et Antiochus impulerant in spem Macedoniae regni, quod is vere regum stirpis esset, si Amynandrum 8 Athamanesque Antiocho coniunxisset. Et ea vanitas promissorum non apud Philippum modo sed etiam apud Amynandrum valuit.

XLVIII. In Achaia legatis Antiochi Aetolorumque coram T. Quinctio Aegii datum est concilium. 2 Antiochi legatus prior quam Aetoli est auditus. Is, ut plerique, quos opes regiae alunt, vaniloquus maria 3 terrasque inani sonitu verborum complevit: equitum innumerabilem vim traici Hellesponto in Europam, partim loricatos, quos cataphractos vocant, partim sagittis ex equo utentes et, a quo nihil satis tecti sit, 4 averso refugientes equo certius figentes. His³ equestribus copiis quamquam vel totius Europae exercitus in unum coacti obrui possent, adiciebat multiplices 5 copias peditum, et nominibus quoque gentium vix fando auditis terrebat, Dahas Medos Elymaeosque 6 et Cadusios appellans. Navalium vero copiarum,

¹ atque 5: et B.² regiis iunctam Koch: regis inclutam BM. ³ his 5: iis B.¹ Cf. xxx. 12-13 above. Plutarch (*Philop.* xv) traces their jealousy to this same cause, but his chronology is confused.² Amynander had been an ally of the Romans against Philip (XXXI. xxviii. 1), but may have felt slighted in the re-arrangements following the peace (XXXIII. xxxiv. 11).

Quinctius.¹ Amynander² had as wife Apama,³ daughter of one Alexander of Megalopolis, who, boasting descent from Alexander the Great, had given to his two sons the names of Philip and Alexander and to his daughter that of Apama; when she was joined in royal wedlock her elder brother Philip followed her to Athamania. Since he happened to be vain in character, the Aetolians and Antiochus had induced him to hope for the throne of Macedonia, being, as they told him, truly of the stock of kings, if he allied Amynander and the Athamanes with Antiochus. And this vain promise availed not only with Philip but also with Amynander.

XLVIII. In Achaia a hearing before the council was granted the representatives of Antiochus and the Aetolians in the presence of Titus Quinctius at Aegium. The ambassador of Antiochus was heard before the Aetolians. He, a boaster like most who are maintained by a king's power, filled seas and lands with an empty sound of words: an uncountable number of cavalry was crossing the Hellespont into Europe, partly equipped with breastplates—these they call the *cataphracti*—partly those who use arrows from horseback, and as a result of which there is no protection against them, since they aimed quite accurately backwards while fleeing on their horses. Although by these forces of cavalry the armies even of all Europe, collected in one body, could be overwhelmed, he added army after army of infantry, and he caused terror when they heard names of tribes besides, scarcely known by name, talking of Dahae,⁴ Medes, Elymaeans and Cadusians. As to the naval

³ Apama was the wife of Seleucus I, but the name is not known as characteristically a family-name among the descendants of Philip of Macedon.⁴ The Dahae were Scythians: cf. Plin. *N.H.* VI. 50.

quas nulli portus capere in Graecia possent, dextrum cornu Sidonios et Tyrios, sinistrum Aradios et ex Pamphylia Sidetas tenere, quas gentes nullae
 7 umquam nec arte nec virtute navali aequassent. Iam pecuniam, iam alios belli apparatus referre super-
 vacaneum esse: scire ipsos abundasse auro semper regna Asiae. Itaque non cum Philippo nec Hanni-
 bale rem futuram Romanis, principe altero unius civitatis, altero Macedoniae tantum regni finibus
 8 Europae rege. Eum tamen, quamquam ab ultimis orientis terminis ad liberandam Graeciam veniat, nihil postulare ab Achaeis, in quo fides eorum
 adversus Romanos, priores socios atque amicos,
 9 laedatur: non enim ut secum adversus eos arma capiant, sed ut neutri parti sese coniungant petere. Pacem utrique parti, quod medios deceat amicos,
 10 optent; bello se non interponant. Idem ferme et Aetolorum legatus Archidamus petit¹ ut, quae facillima et tutissima esset, quietem praestarent, spectatoresque belli fortunarum alienarum eventum sine ullo discrimine rerum suarum opperirentur.
 11 Profectus deinde est intemperantia linguae in male- dicta nunc communiter Romanorum, nunc proprie
 12 ipsius Quinctii, ingratos appellans et exprobrans non victoriam modo de Philippo virtute Aetolorum partam sed etiam salutem, ipsumque et exercitum
 13 sua opera servatos. Quo enim illum umquam imperatoris functum officio esse? Auspiciantem

¹ petit ε: peti B.

forces, moreover, which no harbours in Greece could B.C. 192
 shelter, the right wing was held by men of Sidon and Tyre, the left by Aradii and Sidetes from Pamphylia, which races none had ever equalled either in skill or in courage in naval combat. At this time to speak of money, at this time to speak of other equipment for war, he said was useless: they themselves were aware that the kingdoms of Asia had always been rich in gold. Therefore the Romans would not have to do with Philip or Hannibal, the one the chief of a single state, the other confined only within the bounds of the Macedonian kingdom, but with the mighty lord of all Asia and part of Europe. Nevertheless, although he came from the farthest parts of the east to liberate Greece, he demanded nothing of the Achaeans by which their loyalty to the Romans, who had priority as allies and friends, would be diminished: for he did not ask that they should take up arms on his side against the Romans, but that they should ally themselves with neither side. Let them wish for peace for both parties, as was befitting the friends of both; let them take no part in war. About the same request was made by the Aetolian ambassador Archidamus, that they maintain peace, which was the easiest and safest course, and as onlookers at the war let them await the outcome of others' destinies without any risk to their own cause. Then he was carried away by the vehemence of his language to the point of insulting now the Romans generally, now Quinctius himself specifically, calling them ingrates and taunting him with the remark that not only the victory over Philip but Quinctius' own safety had been gained by the valour of the Aetolians, and when, he demanded, had Quinctius ever performed the functions of a commander?

A.U.C.
562

immolantemque et vota nuncupantem sacrificuli vatis modo in acie vidisse, cum ipse corpus suum pro eo telis hostium obiceret.

XLIX. Ad ea Quinctius, coram quibus magis quam apud quos verba faceret, dicere Archidamum rationem
2 habuisse: Achaeos enim probe scire Aetolorum omnem ferociam in verbis non in factis esse, et in conciliis magis contionibusque quam in acie apparere:
3 itaque parvi Achaeorum existimationem, quibus notos esse se scirent, fecisse; legatis regis et per eos
4 absentis regi eum se iactasse. Quod si quis antea ignorasset quae res Antiochum et Aetolos coniunxisset, ex legatorum sermone potuisse apparere, mentiendo in vicem iactandoque vires quas non haberent, inflasse vana spe atque inflatos esse,
5 "dum hi ab se victum Philippum, sua virtute protectos Romanos et, quae modo audiebatis, narrant vos ceterasque civitates et gentes suam sectam esse secuturos, rex contra peditum equitumque nubes
6 iactat et consternit maria classibus suis. Est autem res simillima cenae Chalcidensis hospitis mei, et hominis¹ boni et sciti convivoris, apud quem solstitiali tempore comiter accepti cum miraremur, unde illi eo tempore anni tam varia et multa venatio,
7 homo non quam isti² sunt gloriosus renidens condi-

¹ et hominis *Weissenborn*: hominis et *B*.

² isti *5*: iusti *B*: ut isti *M*.

¹ Livy does not mention this in his description of Cynoscephalae, but Polybius (XVIII. xxi. 5) gives Archidamus credit for conspicuous courage there, omitting the slurs on Flamininus.

² This was the summer solstice, when game was out of season.

Taking auspices and sacrificing and performing vows *B.C. 192* like a poor sacrificing priest—thus had he seen Quinctius in the battle, while he himself was exposing his person in behalf of Quinctius to the weapons of the enemy.¹

XLIX. To this Quinctius replied that Archidamus had considered in whose presence he was speaking rather than whom he was addressing: for the Achaeans knew well that all the fierceness of the Aetolians consisted in words and not in actions, and was seen in councils and assemblies more than in battle: therefore Archidamus took small account of the opinion of the Achaeans, to whom he realized that the Aetolians were known; it was for the benefit of the king's ambassadors and through them of the king that he had boasted thus. But if anyone had been ignorant before what cause had brought Antiochus and the Aetolians together, it could now be clear from the speeches of their delegates that by an exchange of lies and of boasts of strength which they did not possess they filled one another's minds, and in turn were filled, with groundless hopes. "While they are saying that by them Philip was defeated and by their valour the Romans were preserved, and, as you just heard, that you and the other cities and peoples will follow in their path, the king on the other hand is boasting of his clouds of infantry and cavalry and is hiding the sea beneath his fleet. But the whole affair is very like a dinner given by a friend of mine in Chalcis, both an excellent man and a witty table-companion, and when we were entertained at his house at the time of the solstice,² and were wondering where at that time of the year he found so much game and of so many kinds, this man, not boasting in the manner

A.T.T.O.
562

- mentis ait varietatem illam et speciem ferinae carnis ex mansueto sue factam." Hoc dici apte in copias
 8 regis, quae paulo ante iactatae sint,¹ posse: varia enim genera armorum et multa nomina gentium inauditarum, Dahae et Medos et Cadusios et Elymaeos, Suros omnes esse, haud paulo mancipiorum melius propter servilia ingenia quam militum genus.
 9 "Et utinam subicere vestris oculis, Achaei, possem concursationem regis magni ab Demetriade nunc Lamiam in concilium Aetolorum nunc Chalcidem;
 10 videretis vix duarum male plenarum legiuncularum instar in castris regis; videretis regem nunc mendicantem prope frumentum ab Aetolis, quod militi admetiatur, nunc mutuas pecunias faenore in stipendium² quaerentem, nunc ad portas Chalcidis stantem et mox, inde exclusum, nihil aliud quam Aulide atque Euripo spectatis in Aetoliam redeuntem. Male crediderunt et Antiochus Aetolis et Aetoli regiae
 12 vanitati: quo minus vos decipi debetis, sed expertae potius³ spectataeque Romanorum fidei credere.
 13 Nam quod optimum esse dicunt,⁴ non interponi vos bello, nihil immo tam alienum rebus vestris est; quippe sine gratia sine dignitate praemium victoris eritis."

L. Nec absurde adversus utrosque respondisse visus est, et facile erat orationem apud faventes
 2 aequis auribus accipi. Nulla enim nec disceptatio

¹ sint *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: sunt *B*γ.

² in stipendium γ: stipendium *B*.

³ potius *M*γ: totius *B*.

⁴ dicunt γ: dicant *B*.

of our opponents, said with a smile that by seasoning B.C. 192 these varied forms of wild game had been made out of tame swine." This, he said, could be well applied to the forces of the king, about which there had been so much bragging a little while ago; the different kinds of weapons, the many names of unheard-of peoples, Dahae and Medes and Cadusians and Elymaeans—these were all Syrians, far better fitted to be slaves, on account of their servile dispositions, than to be a race of warriors. "And would that I could, Achaeans, set before your eyes the frantic rush of the great king from Demetrias, now to Lamia for the council of the Aetolians, now to Chalcis; you would scarcely find the like of two poor legions of reduced strength in the camp of the king; you would see the king now almost begging food from the Aetolians to be distributed to his troops, now seeking the loan of funds on interest for their pay, now standing before the gates of Chalcis and presently, shut out from there, having done nothing more than look at Aulis and the Euripus, going back to Aetolia. Foolishly have they trusted, both Antiochus in the Aetolians and the Aetolians in the vainglory of the king: the less should you be deceived, but you should place your trust rather in the tried and known protection of the Romans. For as to what they say is best, that you should not take any part in the war, nothing, on the contrary, is so inconsistent with your interests; yes, disregarded and discredited you will be the prize of the conqueror."

L. Not without point did he appear to have answered both parties, and it was easy for his speech to be received with favouring ears by men who were on his side. For there was no debate or doubt that

A.U.C.
562

- nec dubitatio fuit quin omnes eosdem genti Achaeorum hostes et amicos, quos populos Romanus censuisset, iudicaret, bellumque et Antiocho et
 3 Aetolis nuntiari iuberent. Auxilia etiam quo censuit Quinctius, quingentorum militum Chalcidem, quin-
 4 gentorum Piraeum extemplo miserunt. Erat enim¹ haud procul seditione Athenis res trahentibus ad Antiochum quibusdam spe largitionum venalem pretio multitudinem, donec ab iis, qui Romanae partis erant, Quinctius est accitus, et accusante Leonte quodam Apollodorus auctor defectionis damnatus atque in exilium est eiectus.
- 5 Et ab Achaeis quidem cum tristi responso legatio ad regem rediit; Boeoti nihil certi responderunt: cum Antiochus in Boeotiam venisset, tum quid sibi faciendum esset se deliberaturos esse.
- 6 Antiochus cum ad Chalcidis praesidium et Achaeos et Eumenem regem misisse audisset, maturandum ratus, ut et praevenirent sui et venientes si possent
 7 exciperent, Menippum cum tribus ferme milibus militum et omni classe Polyxenidan mittit, ipse paucos post dies sex milia suorum militum et ex ea copia quae Lamiae repente colligi potuit non ita
 8 multos Aetolos ducit. Achaei quingenti et ab² Eumene rege modicum auxilium missum duce Xenoclide Chalcidensi nondum obsessis itineribus tuto trans-
 9 gressi Euripum Chalcidem pervenerunt; Romani

¹ enim ϵ : autem B.² et ab Gronovius: ab B.

¹ Livy has said nothing about this Roman detachment, and does not explain whether they came from the fleet or from the army of Baebius (cf. xxiv. 7 above); the latter is more probable, considering the direction of their march.

they would pronounce judgment that the people of the Achaeans would hold as enemies and friends the same whom the Roman people held as such, and that they would order war declared on Antiochus and the Aetolians. Auxiliaries also, as Quinctius advised, five hundred soldiers to Chalcis and five hundred to Piraeus, were at once sent. For there was at Athens a situation not much different from a rebellion, since some people, from the hope of bribes, were trying to win by money the venal multitude over to the side of Antiochus, until Quinctius was summoned by those who were of the Roman faction, and on the accusation of a certain Leon, Apollodorus, the author of the sedition, was convicted and driven into exile.

And the Achaeans indeed gave the ambassadors an unsympathetic answer to take back to the king; the Boeotians made no positive response: when Antiochus should have come to Boeotia, then, they said, they would consider what course of action they should adopt.

When Antiochus heard that garrisons had been sent to Chalcis by both the Achaeans and King Eumenes, he thought that his men should make haste to anticipate them and if possible meet them on their arrival, and he sent Menippus with about three thousand soldiers and Polyxenidas with the entire fleet, and a few days later he too led six thousand of his own troops and some few of the Aetolians from such forces as could be mustered on short notice at Lamia. The five hundred Achaeans and a small force sent by King Eumenes, with Xenocles of Chalcis as their leader, the roads being not yet closed, crossed the Euripus in safety and arrived in Chalcis; the Roman soldiers,¹ these too about five

A.U.C.
562

milites, quingenti ferme et ipsi, cum iam Menippus castra ante Salganea ad Hermaeum, qua transitus ex Boeotia in Euboeam insulam est, haberet, venerunt.

- 10 Micythio erat cum iis, legatus ab Chalcide ad Quinctium ad id ipsum praesidium petendum missus.
11 Qui, postquam ab hostibus obsessas fauces vidit, omisso ad Aulidem itinere Delium convertit, ut inde in Euboeam transmissurus.

LI. Templum est Apollinis Delium, imminens mari; quinque milia passuum ab Tanagra abest; minus quattuor milium inde¹ in proxima Euboeae est mari traectus. Ubi et in fano lucoque ea religione et eo iure sancto, quo sunt templa, quae² asyla Graeci appellant, et nondum aut indicto bello aut ita commisso, ut strictos gladios aut sanguinem usquam factum audissent, cum per magnum otium milites alii ad spectaculum templi lucique versi, alii in littore inermes vagarentur, magna pars per agros lignatum pabulumque dilapsa esset, repente Menippus palatos passim adgressus cecidit,³ ad quinquaginta vivos cepit; perpauci⁴ effugerunt, in quibus Micythio parva oneraria nave exceptus.
5 Ea res Quinctio Romanisque sicut iactura militum molesta, ita ad ius inferendi Antiocho belli adiecis-

¹ quattuor milium inde *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: IIII inde *B*: quattuor inde milium *ς*.

² quo sunt templa quae *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: quoque sunt templa *B*.

³ cecidit *edd. vett.*: eos cecidit *B*: CCC cecidit *Madvig*: locum mendosum esse vidit *Crévier*.

⁴ perpauci *ς*: pauci *B*.

¹ Rome had not formally declared war, although the Achaeans had done so (comparing 1, 2 and 5 above). Whether the presence of these soldiers here on this errand constituted a tacit recognition that a state of war existed is debatable.

hundred in number, arrived when Menippus already B.C. 192 had his camp before Salganeus near the Hermaeum, where there is a crossing from Boeotia to the island of Euboea. Micythio was with them, sent from Chalcis to Quinctius to request that very garrison. When he saw that the pass was held by the enemy, he abandoned the march to Aulis and turned toward Delium, planning to cross from there to Euboea.

LI. Delium is a temple of Apollo, overlooking the sea; it is five miles away from Tanagra; the crossing by sea from there to the nearest parts of Euboea is less than four miles. Not only were they in a shrine and sacred grove, of so religious a character, and under the law of sanctuary which protects those temples which the Greeks call "asylums," but also the war had as yet been neither declared¹ nor brought to such an issue that they had seen swords drawn or blood shed anywhere, while the soldiers were wandering around completely at ease, some going to see the temple and the grove, some strolling along the shore unarmed, and a great part scattering through the country in quest of wood and forage; suddenly Menippus fell upon them as they straggled here and there and slew them,² and captured about fifty alive; a very few got away, among them Micythio, who was picked up by a small trading-vessel. Just as the loss of the soldiers was annoying to Quinctius and the Romans, so too the affair seemed to have given some further justification for

¹ A numeral has dropped out of the text. Some editors supply *trecentos*, to leave some survivors (in addition to the fifty prisoners and the "very few" mentioned in the next clause) to garrison the fort mentioned in sect. 7 below.

A.U.C.
569

6 aliquantum videbatur. Antiochus admoto ad Aulidem exercitu, cum rursus oratores partim ex suis partim Aetolos Chalcidem misisset, qui eadem illa quae nuper cum minis gravioribus agerent, neququam contra Micythione et Xenoclide tendentibus
7 facile tenuit ut portae sibi aperirentur. Qui Romanae partis erant sub adventum regis urbe excesserunt. Achaeorum et Eumenis milites Salganea tenebant, et in Euripo castellum Romani milites pauci custodiae
8 causa loci¹ communiebant. Salganea Menippus, rex ipse castellum Euripi oppugnare est adortus. Priores Achaei et Eumenis milites pacti ut sine fraude liceret abire, praesidio excesserunt; pertinacius Romani Euripum tuebantur. Hi quoque tamen,² cum terra marique obsiderentur et iam machinas tormentaue adportari viderent, non tulere obsidio-
10 nem. Cum id, quod caput erat Euboeae, teneret rex, ne ceterae quidem insulae eius urbes imperium abnuerunt; magnoque principio sibi orsus bellum videbatur, quod tanta insula et tot opportuna urbes in suam dicionem venissent.

¹ loci ed. Frobeniana 1535: locum Br.² tamen ed. Frobeniana 1535: iam Br.

declaring war on Antiochus. Antiochus moved his army up to Aulis, and when he had again sent ambassadors to Chalcis, some of his own people and some Aetolians, who urged in more threatening language the same course they had recently advised, although Micythio and Xenocides vainly strove against it, he easily gained his point that the gates should be opened to him. Those of the Roman party left the city at the approach of the king. The soldiers of the Achaeans and Eumenes held Salganeus, and on the Euripus a few Roman soldiers built a fort to guard the place. Menippus attacked Salganeus, the king himself began to attack the fort on the Euripus. The Achaeans and the soldiers of Eumenes were the first to bargain that they be allowed to depart under safeguard and left their post; with greater stubbornness the Romans tried to hold the Euripus. Nevertheless, even they, when they were besieged by land and sea and saw the engines and artillery being moved forward, did not withstand the siege. Since the king held this, which was the chief city of Euboea, the other cities of the island did not disobey his orders, and he seemed to himself to have made an important start to the war in the fact that so great an island and so many well-situated cities had come under his sway.

LIBRI XXXV PERIOCHA

P. SCIPIO AFRICANUS legatus ad Antiochum missus Ephesi cum Hannibale, qui se Antiocho adiunxerat, collocutus est ut, si fieri posset, metum ei quem ex populo Romano conceperat eximeret. Inter alia cum quaereret quem fuisse maximum imperatorem Hannibal crederet, respondit Alexandrum, Macedonum regem, quod parva manu innumerabiles exercitus fudisset quodque ultimas oras, quas visere supra spem humanam esset, peragrasset. Quaerenti deinde quem secundum poneret, Pyrrhum, inquit, castra metari primum docuisse, ad hoc neminem loca elegantius cepisse, praesidia disposuisse. Exsequenti quem tertium diceret, semet ipsum dixit. Ridens Scipio: "Quidnam tu diceres" inquit "si me vicisses?" "Tunc vero me" inquit "et ante Alexandrum et ante Pyrrhum et ante alios posuissesem." Inter alia prodigia quae plurima fuisse traduntur, bovem Cn. Domitii consulis locutam "Roma, cave tibi" refertur. Nabis, Lacedaemoniorum tyrannus, incitatus ab Aetolis, qui et Philippum et Antiochum ad inferendum bellum populo Romano sollicitabant,¹ a populo Romano descivit, sed bello² adversus Philopoemenen, Achaeorum praetorem, gesto ab Aetolis interfectus est. Aetoli quoque ab amicitia populi Romani defecerunt. Cum societate iuncta Antiochus, Syriae rex, bellum Graeciae intulisset, complures urbes occupavit, inter quas Chalcidem et totam Euboeam. Res praeterea in Liguribus gestas et adparatum belli ab Antiocho continet.

¹ sollicitabant *ed. princeps*: sollicitabat *codd.*

² descivit sed bello *Rosbach*: descivisse et bellum *NP.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXV

PUBLIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS, sent on an embassy to Antiochus, at Ephesus conversed with Hannibal, who had associated himself with Antiochus, in order that, if it were possible, he should take from him the fear which he felt of the Roman people. Among other things, when he asked whom Hannibal considered the greatest general, he named Alexander, king of the Macedonians, because with a small force he had defeated armies uncountable and because he had traversed the farthest countries, to see which was beyond human hopes. When Scipio asked whom he ranked second, he said that Pyrrhus had been the first to teach the art of castrametation, and besides no one had chosen his ground or placed his troops more skilfully. Continuing as to whom he would place third, he named himself there. Scipio then asked with a smile, "What would you say if you had defeated me?" "Then, in truth," he replied, "I should have ranked myself ahead of Alexander, ahead of Pyrrhus and ahead of all other generals." Among other prodigies, which are reported to have been very numerous, it is said that a cow belonging to Gnaeus Domitius exclaimed, "Rome, for thyself beware." Nabis, tyrant of the Spartans, provoked by the Aetolians, who were inciting both Philip and Antiochus to make war upon the Roman people, rebelled against the Roman people, but waging war against Philopoemen, the chief of the Achaeans, was killed by the Aetolians. The Aetolians also abandoned the friendship of the Roman people. Antiochus, when he had joined in alliance with them and had begun war in Greece, occupied several cities, among them Chalcis and all Euboea. The book contains in addition the narrative of events among the Ligures and the preparations of Antiochus for war.

BOOK XXXVI

LIBER XXXVI

A.U.C.
563

I. P. CORNELIUM CN. filium Scipionem et M'. Acilium Glabrimonem consules inito magistratu
² patres, priusquam de provinciis agerent, res divinas facere maioribus hostiis iusserunt in omnibus fanis, in quibus lectisternium maiorem partem anni fieri solet, precarique, quod senatus de novo bello in animo haberet, ut ea res senatui populoque Romano
³ bene atque feliciter eveniret. Ea omnia sacrificia laeta fuerunt, primisque hostiis perlitatum est, et ita haruspices responderunt, eo bello terminos populi Romani propagari, victoriam ac triumphum ostendi.
⁴ Haec cum renuntiata essent, solutis religione animis
⁵ patres rogationem ad populum ferri iusserunt, vellent iuberentne cum Antiocho rege, quique eius sectam secuti essent, bellum iniri; si ea perlata rogatio esset, tum, si ita videretur consulibus, rem integram ad
⁶ senatum referrent. P. Cornelius eam rogationem pertulit; tum senatus decrevit, ut consules Italiam

¹ For their election cf. XXXV. xxiv. 5.

² The *lectisternium* was a festival at which the images of the gods were exposed on couches (hence *lecti-*) on the streets and were served with food.

³ For the formula cf. XXXI. v. 4.

⁴ The entrails of the victims were inspected; if the first animal sacrificed did not yield a favourable result the ceremony was repeated until good omens were secured.

⁵ For the formula cf. XXXI. vi. 1.

BOOK XXXVI

I. PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, the son of Gnaeus, B.C. 191 and Manius Acilius Glabrio¹ were inaugurated consuls, and were directed by the Fathers, before they took up the question of provinces, to perform sacrifices with full-grown victims at all the shrines at which the *lectisternium*² was customarily celebrated throughout the greater part of the year, and to offer prayer that what the senate had in mind regarding the new war might turn out well and successfully for the senate and the Roman people.³ All these sacrifices were favourable and good omens were obtained from the first victims,⁴ and the interpretation of the *haruspices* was this, that in this war the boundaries of the Roman people were being enlarged and that victory and a triumph were foreshadowed. When this had been reported, the Fathers, their minds freed of religious scruples, directed that the question be proposed to the assembly, whether they wished and ordered⁵ war to be entered upon with King Antiochus and those who had followed his path; ⁶ if this motion should be adopted, then, if the consuls saw fit, they should lay the whole question before the senate. Publius Cornelius carried the motion; the senate then decreed that the consuls should cast lots for the

¹ Cf. XXXV. xlix. 5; the alliterative phrase has a half-proverbial sound.

A.U.C.
563

et Graeciam provincias sortirentur; cui Graecia evenisset, ut praeter eum numerum militum, quem L. Quinctius consul in eam provinciam ex auctoritate
 7 senatus scripsisset imperassetve,¹ ut eum exercitum acciperet,² quem M. Baebius praetor anno priore ex
 8 senatus consulto in Macedoniam traiecisset; et extra Italiam permissum ut, si res postulasset, auxilia ab sociis ne supra quinque milium numerum acciperet. L. Quinctium superioris anni consulem legari ad id
 9 bellum placuit. Alter consul, cui Italia provincia evenisset, cum Bois iussus bellum gerere utro exercitu mallet ex duobus quos superiores consules habuissent, alterum ut mitteret Romam, eaeque urbanae legiones essent paratae quo senatus censuisset.

II. His ita in senatu, incerto³ ad id, quae cuiusque⁴ provincia foret, decretis, tum demum sortiri consules placuit. Acilio Graecia, Cornelio Italia evenit. 2 Certa deinde sorte senatus consultum factum est, quod populus Romanus eo tempore duellum iussisset

¹ imperassetue ut ϵ : imperasset velut *B*.

² acciperet *ed. Moguntina* 1518: acciperet et *B*.

³ incerto ad *Kosh*: ad *B*.

⁴ quae cuiusque *Ruperti*: cuius *B*: quod cuius ϵ .

¹ In XXXV. xli. 3 one province was left undetermined; the conduct of the war against Antiochus is now specifically named as that province, though the designation "Greece" is somewhat vague. (Livy's method separates events which probably were close together in time. In XXXV. xxiv. the imminence of the war demanded an early election; in XXXV. xli. the question of the provinces was under consideration, but the decision is reported only here.)

² Cf. XXXV. xli. 5.

³ Cf. XXXV. xxiv. 7.

⁴ Nothing more is heard of this proposal, and in xvii. 1 two other *legati* are mentioned. It has been reported (in XXXV. xxiii. 5) that Titus Quinctius was one of five *legati*

provinces of Italy and Greece¹; the one to whom *a.c.* 191 Greece should be allotted was instructed, in addition to that number of troops which the consul Lucius Quinctius had enlisted or levied for service in that province in accordance with the action of the senate,² to take over the army which Marcus Baebius³ the praetor had the year before transported to Macedonia with the authorization of the senate; he was permitted also, if the situation required it, to accept from the allies outside of Italy for auxiliaries not to exceed five thousand men. It was the senate's pleasure that Lucius Quinctius, the consul of the preceding year, should be taken to this war as a lieutenant.⁴ The other consul, to whom Italy should have fallen as a province, was ordered to carry on war with the Boii, using whichever he preferred of the two armies which the preceding consuls had had, and to send the other to Rome, and that these, as reserve legions,⁵ should be ready to move wherever the senate should direct.

II. These decrees having been enacted in the senate, and it being up to this time uncertain which province would be assigned to which consul, it was then at length decided that the consuls should cast lots. To Acilius fell Greece, to Cornelius Italy. The drawing being concluded, a decree of the senate was then passed that, since the Roman people had

sent to Greece to exercise *auctoritas*, and Plutarch (*Flamininus* xvii) speaks of him as *legatus* to Acilius. It is therefore probable that the sources confused the two Quinctii and that thus the tradition came into existence that one of them had been *legatus* to Acilius.

⁵ The *urbanae legiones* were normally new troops. The drafts for the year had been heavy, and, since Minucius also was in Gaul (XXXV. xx. 6), the forces there seemed sufficient. This gave Rome a mobile reserve of veterans.

A.U.C.
563

esse cum rege Antiocho, quique sub imperio eius essent, ut eius rei causa supplicationem imperarent consules, utique M'. Acilius consul ludos magnos Iovi
 3 voveret et dona ad omnia pulvinaria. Id votum in haec verba praeunte P. Licinio pontifice maximo consul nuncupavit: "Si duellum quod cum rege Antiocho sumi populus iussit, id ex sententia senatus
 4 populique Romani confectum erit, tum tibi, Iuppiter, populus Romanus ludos magnos dies decem continuos faciet, donaque ad omnia pulvinaria dabuntur de
 5 pecunia, quantam senatus decreverit. Quisquis magistratus eos ludos quando ubique faxit, hi ludi recte facti donaque data recte sunt." Supplicatio inde ab duobus consulibus edicta per biduum fuit.
 6 Consulibus sortitis provincias extemplo et praetores sortiti sunt. M. Iunio Bruto iurisdictio utraque evenit, A. Cornelio Mammulae Brutti, M. Aemilio Lepido Sicilia, L. Oppio Salinatori Sardinia, C. Livio Salinatori classis, L. Aemilio Paulo Hispania ulterior.
 7 His ita exercitus decreti: A. Cornelio novi milites, conscripti priore anno ex senatus consulto a L. Quinctio consule, dati sunt, iussusque tueri omnem
 8 oram circa Tarentum Brundisiumque. L. Aemilio Paulo in ulteriorem Hispaniam, praeter eum exercitum quem a M. Fulvio proconsule accepturus esset,

¹ The archaic form *duellum* is especially appropriate to such formulae.

² Cf. IV. xxvii. 1.

³ The selection of these praetorian provinces was reported at XXXV. xli. 6.

⁴ Cf. XXXV. xli. 7.

at that time ordered that there be war ¹ with King Antiochus and those who were under his authority, the consuls should proclaim a period of prayer for the success of this undertaking, and that the consul Manius Acilius should vow the great games² to Jupiter and gifts at all the banquet-tables of the gods. This vow, at the dictation of Publius Licinius the high priest, the consul made in the following form: "If the war which the people has ordered to be undertaken with King Antiochus shall have been finished to the satisfaction of the senate and the Roman people, then in your honour, Jupiter, the Roman people will perform the Great Games for ten consecutive days and gifts will be offered at all the banquet-tables, of whatever value the senate shall determine. Whatever magistrate shall celebrate these games, at whatever time and place, let these games be regarded as duly celebrated and the gifts as duly offered." Then the period of prayer was proclaimed by both consuls, to continue for two days.

The consuls having drawn for their provinces, the praetors too at once cast lots. Marcus Junius Brutus received the two jurisdictions, Aulus Cornelius Mammula the Brutti, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus Sicily, Lucius Oppius Salinator Sardinia, Gaius Livius Salinator the fleet, Lucius Aemilius Paulus Farther Spain.³ Troops were assigned to them thus: to Aulus Cornelius were given the new troops raised the year before by Lucius Quinctius the consul under the decree of the senate,⁴ and he was ordered to defend the whole coast in the vicinity of Tarentum and Brundisium. To Lucius Aemilius Paulus, for service in Farther Spain, authority was given to raise, in addition to the army which he was to take

A.U.C.
- 563

decretum est ut novorum militum tria milia duceret et trecentos equites, ita ut in iis duae partes socium Latini nominis, tertia civium Romanorum esset.

- 9 Idem supplementi ad C. Flaminium, cui imperium prorogabatur, in Hispaniam citeriorem¹ est missum.
- 10 M. Aemilius Lepidus ab L. Valerio, cui successurus esset, simul provinciam exercitumque accipere iussus;
- 11 L. Valerium, si ita videretur, pro praetore in provincia retinere et provinciam ita dividere ut una ab Agrigento ad Pachynum esset, altera a Pachyno Tyndareum; eam² maritimam oram L. Valerius viginti
- 12 navibus longis custodiret. Eidem praetori mandatum ut duas decumas frumenti exigeret; id ad mare comportandum devehendumque in Graeciam
- 13 curaret. Idem L. Oppio de alteris decumis exigendis in Sardinia imperatum; ceterum non in Graeciam
- 14 sed Romam id frumentum portari placere. C. Livius praetor, cui classis evenerat, triginta navibus paratis traicere in Graeciam primo quoque tempore iussus,
- 15 et ab Atilio naves accipere. Veteres naves, quae in navalibus erant, ut reficeret et armaret, M. Iunio praetori negotium datum est, et in³ eam classem socios navales libertinos legeret.

III. Legati terni in Africam ad Carthaginienses et in⁴ Numidiam ad frumentum rogandum quod in

¹ citeriorem ς : ulteriorem B.

² eam ed. *Moguntina* 1518: cum B.

³ et in ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: in B ς : ut in M.

⁴ et in ς : in B.

¹ Cf. XXXV. ii.

² This arrangement provides for the defence of the vulnerable southern and eastern coasts. Less concern is felt regarding the interior.

over from Marcus Fulvius the proconsul, three a.d. 191 thousand new infantry and three hundred cavalry, on this basis, that two-thirds should be allies of the Latin confederacy and one-third Roman citizens. The same reinforcement was sent to Gaius Flaminius,¹ whose *imperium* was prolonged, for Nearer Spain. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was directed to take over both province and army from Lucius Valerius, whom he was to succeed; if he desired, he should keep Lucius Valerius in the province as proprætor and should divide the province in such a way that one part should extend from Agrigentum to Pachynum, the other from Pachynum to Tyndareus;² this coast Lucius Valerius was to guard with twenty warships. The same prætor was instructed to requisition two tithes³ of grain; he was to see to its collection on the coast and its transportation to Greece. The same order was given to Lucius Oppius regarding collecting a second tithe in Sardinia; this grain, however, they wished transported not to Greece but to Rome. Gaius Livius the prætor, to whom the fleet had been allotted, was instructed to prepare thirty ships and cross to Greece at the earliest opportunity and to take over the fleet from Atilius. The refitting and equipping of the old ships which were in the yards was assigned to Marcus Junius the prætor, and the enrolment of freedmen as naval allies.⁴

III. Commissioners were sent to Africa, three each to the Carthaginians and to Numidia, to solicit

³ Sicily and Sardinia paid their tributes on the tithe system, probably on the basis of the pre-Roman legislation of Hiero. Rome in such cases probably paid for the second tithe.

⁴ Service on the sea was less honourable than service on land: cf. XXXII. xxiii. 9. Roman citizens were usually exempt.

A.U.C.
563

Graeciam portaretur missi, pro quo pretium solveret
 2 populus Romanus. Adeoque in apparatus curamque
 3 eius belli civitas intenta fuit ut P. Cornelius consul
 ediceret, qui senatores essent quibusque in senatu
 sententiam dicere liceret, quique minores magistratus
 essent, ne quis eorum longius ab urbe Roma abiret
 4 quam unde eo die redire posset, neve uno tempore
 quinque senatores ab urbe Roma abessent. In
 comparanda impigre classe C. Livium praetorem
 contentio orta cum colonis maritimis paulisper
 5 tenuit. Nam cum cogerentur in classem, tribunos
 plebi appellarunt; ab iis ad senatum reiecti sunt.
 Senatus ita ut ad unum omnes consentirent, decrevit
 6 vacationem rei navalis eis colonis non esse. Ostia
 et Fregenae et Castrum Novum et Pyrgi et Antium
 et Tarracina et Minturnae et Sinuessa fuerunt, quae
 7 cum praetore de vacatione certarunt.¹ Consul deinde
 M'. Acilius ex senatus consulto ad collegium fetialium
 rettulit, ipsine utique regi Antiocho indiceretur
 bellum, an satis esset ad praesidium aliquod eius
 8 nuntiari,² et num Aetolis quoque separatim indici
 iuberent bellum, et num prius societas et amicitia
 eis³ renuntianda esset quam bellum indicendum.
 9 Fetiales responderunt iam ante sese, cum de Philippo

¹ certarunt ς : certarent B.

² nuntiari *Kreyszig*: nuntiaret B: nuntiaretur M.

³ et amicitia eis ς : eis et amicitia B.

¹ Persons who had held the offices which conferred eligibility to sit in the senate but had not yet been formally admitted by the censors were granted in the interim the *ius sententiam dicendi*.

² Here, as in XXXV. xxxiii. 4, it is assumed that the alliance with the Aetolians was in effect, even though there is no mention of any formal renewal after the war with Philip. There

grain to be shipped to Greece, for which the Roman B.C. 191
 people would pay. And so absorbed was the state
 in the preparation and provision for this war that
 Publius Cornelius the consul issued an edict to the
 effect that, of those who were senators and those who
 had the right to vote in the senate¹ and those who
 held the lesser offices, no one should be so far distant
 from the city of Rome that he could not return the
 same day, and that five senators should not be away
 from Rome at one time. In his zealous collection
 of a fleet Gaius Livius was delayed for a while by a
 dispute which arose with the colonists on the coast.
 For when they were drafted for naval service they
 appealed to the tribunes of the people; by them they
 were referred to the senate. With such unanimity
 that all the members to a man agreed, the senate
 voted that no exemptions from naval service should
 be granted to these colonists. Ostia, Fregenae, Cas-
 trum Novum, Pyrgi, Antium, Terracina, Minturnae
 and Sinuessa were the colonies which disputed with
 the praetor over exemptions. Then the consul
 Manius Acilius, with the authorization of the senate,
 laid the question before the college of fetials whether
 the declaration of war should be delivered to King
 Antiochus himself directly or whether it sufficed that
 it be proclaimed at some of his military stations;
 and also whether they ordered the war to be formally
 announced to the Aetolians independently, and
 whether the alliance and friendship with them
 should be formally broken off before the declaration
 of war.² The fetials replied that they had already

is also no record of any declaration of war upon the Aetolians,
 except as they were included among the partisans of Antiochus
 (i. 5 above).

A.U.C.
563

- consulerentur, decrevisse nihil referre, ipsi coram an
 10 ad praesidium nuntiaretur; amicitiam renuntiatam
 videri, cum legatis totiens repetentibus res nec reddi
 11 nec satisfieri aequum censuissent; Aetolos ultro sibi
 bellum indixisse, cum Demetriadem, sociorum urbem,
 12 per vim occupassent, Chalcidem terra marique
 oppugnatum issent, regem Antiochum in Europam
 ad bellum populo Romano inferendum traduxissent.
 13 Omnibus iam satis comparatis M'. Acilius consul
 edixit ut quos L. Quinctius milites conscripsisset et
 quos sociis nominique Latino imperasset, quos secum
 in provinciam ire oporteret, et tribuni militum
 legionis primae et tertiae, ut ii omnes¹ Brundisium
 14 idibus Maias convenirent.² Ipse a. d. quintum nonas
 Maias paludatus urbe egressus est. Per eosdem
 dies et praetores in provincias profecti sunt.

IV. Sub idem tempus legati ab duobus regibus,
 Philippo et Ptolomaeo, Aegypti rege, Romam
 venerunt, Philippo pollicente ad bellum auxilia et

¹ ut ii omnes *Weissenborn*: uti homines *B*: uti omnes *Γ*.

² conuenirent *Γ*: conuenissent *B*.

¹ Cf. XXXI. viii. 3.

² The etiquette of declarations of war was a special function of the fetials, and the importance of proper ceremonial was very great, not only because of the Roman fondness for punctiliousness but because of their desire to have justice and the gods on their side. The traditional form of the fetial ritual—probably little changed in later times—is described by Livy in I. xxxii; it put especial stress on the demand for restitution (*res repetere*) of stolen property, as would be natural in early times. The same phraseology is used here: the immediate cause for complaint on Rome's part was Antiochus' attempt to recover the Greek cities on the Asian coast (XXXV. xvi. 3). The "restitution" demanded of him was the abandonment of the attempt to take away their liberties. The Aetolians were involved with him in this offence.

earlier decided, when they were consulted regarding B.C. 191
 Philip,¹ that it made no difference whether the
 declaration was delivered to him in person or at a
 military post; the friendship seemed to be already
 broken off since they had voted that restitution had
 not been made after ambassadors had so often de-
 manded it nor fair satisfaction given;² the Aetolians
 had taken the initiative in declaring war upon them
 when they had seized Demetrias, a city belonging
 to the allies, by violence, had proceeded to invest
 Chalcis by land and sea, and had invited King
 Antiochus to Europe to make war upon the Roman
 people.³ All arrangements having been satisfactorily
 made, the consul Manius Acilius issued an edict to
 the soldiers whom Lucius Quinctius had enlisted and
 those whom he had requisitioned from the allies of
 the Latin confederacy, whom he was to take with
 him to his province, and to the military tribunes⁴ of
 the first and the third legions, that they should all
 assemble at Brundisium on the Ides of May. He
 himself left the City in uniform on the fifth day
 before the Nones of May. About the same time
 the praetors too set out for their provinces.

IV. About the same time ambassadors arrived in
 Rome from two kings, Philip and Ptolemy,⁵ King
 of Egypt; Philip promised aid and money and grain

³ These actions on the part of the Aetolians were good enough causes for war, even though they were not, literally, the specific offences contemplated by the fetial institution. Possibly these overt acts justified the Romans in omitting a formal declaration of war upon them.

⁴ The military tribunes were elected by the assembly (XXVII. xxxvi. 14).

⁵ Ptolemy was the son-in-law of Antiochus (XXXV. xiii. 4).

A.U.C.
563

2 pecuniam et frumentum; ab Ptolomaeo etiam mille pondo auri, viginti milia¹ pondo argenti adlata.
 3 Nihil eius acceptum; gratiae regibus actae; et cum uterque se cum omnibus copiis in Aetoliam venturum belloque interfuturum polliceretur, Ptolomaeo id
 4 remissum; Philippi legatis responsum gratum eum senatui populoque Romano facturum, si M'. Acilio
 5 consuli non defuisset. Item ab Carthaginiensibus et Masinissa rege legati venerunt. Carthaginienses tritici modium D milia,² hordei quingenta ad exercitum, dimidium eius Romam apportaturos polliciti;
 6 id ut ab se munus Romani acciperent, petere sese, et
 7 classem suo³ sumptu comparaturos, et stipendium, quod pluribus pensionibus in multos annos deberent,
 8 praesens omne daturos; Masinissae legati quingenta milia modium tritici, trecenta hordei ad exercitum in Graeciam, Romam trecenta milia modium⁴ tritici, ducenta quinquaginta hordei, equites quingentos, elephantos viginti regem ad M'. Acilium consulem
 9 missurum. De frumento utrisque responsum, ita usurum eo populum Romanum, si pretium acciperent; de classe Carthaginiensibus remissum, praeterquam

¹ viginti milia *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: .XX. *B.*

² modium .D. milia *M. Müller*: modium .D. *B*: modia mille *M*: modium mille *Γ*.

³ suo *Duker*: suorum suo *B.*

⁴ trecenta milia modium *Γ*: .CCC. modium *B*: trecenta modia *M*.

¹ The quantity is doubtful (see the critical note). I have followed what seems to be the most trustworthy authority.

² The treaty of peace with Carthage provided for annual payments of tribute for fifty years (XXX. xxxvii. 5; Polybius XV. xviii). The Carthaginians were prepared to pay at

for the war; from Ptolemy also was brought the sum of a thousand pounds of gold and twenty thousand pounds of silver. None of these gifts was accepted; thanks were expressed to the kings, and when each of them promised to come with all his forces to Aetolia and participate in the war, Ptolemy was excused from this; to the ambassadors of Philip the answer was given that it would be acceptable to the senate and the Roman people if he did not fail the consul Manius Acilius. Ambassadors also came from the Carthaginians and King Masinissa. The Carthaginians promised five hundred¹ thousand *modii* of wheat and five hundred thousand *modii* of barley, and offered to transport half of it to Rome; they begged the Romans to accept it as a gift from them and they said that they would prepare a fleet at their own expense and would pay at once in a lump sum the tribute which they owed in successive instalments over a term of years.² The ambassadors of Masinissa promised that the king would send five hundred thousand *modii* of wheat and three hundred thousand of barley to Greece for the army, three hundred thousand *modii* of wheat and two hundred fifty thousand of barley to Rome, and five hundred cavalry and twenty elephants to Manius Acilius the consul. Regarding the grain, the answer was given both that the Roman people would use the grain if they would accept pay for it; the Carthaginians were released from their promise about the fleet, except with respect to the ships which they owed under

once the entire balance. The financial reforms introduced by Hannibal (XXXIII. xlvii. 1-2) had apparently been effective.

A.U.C.
563

si quid navium ex foedere deberent; de pecunia item responsum, nullam ante diem accepturos.

V. Cum haec Romae agebantur, Chalcide Antiochus, ne cessaret per hibernorum tempus, partim ipse sollicitabat civitatum animos mittendis legatis, partim ultro ad eum veniebant, sicut Epirotae communi gentis consensu et Elei¹ e Peloponneso venerunt.

² Elei auxilium adversus Achaecos petebant, quos post bellum non ex sua sententia indictum Antiocho primum civitati suae arma illaturos credebant.²

³ Mille iis pedites cum duce Cretensi Euphane sunt missi. Epirotarum legatio erat minime in partem ullam liberi aut simplicis animi; apud regem gratiam initam volebant cum eo, ut caverent, ne quid

⁴ offenderent Romanos. Petebant enim ne se temere in causam deduceret, expositos adversus Italiam pro omni Graecia et primos impetus Romanorum excep-
⁵ turos; sed si ipse posset terrestribus navalibusque copiis praesidere Epiro, cupide eum omnes Epirotas et urbibus et portibus suis accepturos; si id non

¹ et Elei *Sabellicus*: ex pelei *B*: et pelei *Γ*.

² credebant *ed. Parmensis* 1480: *om. B*.

¹ The sources quoted in the preceding note say nothing of any obligation to furnish ships to Rome, aside from the surrender of vessels on hand at the close of the war. However, we see from xlv. 5 below that there were Carthaginian ships in the fleet of Livius in the east.

² Editors are disagreed as to the interpretation of this somewhat ungracious reply. Some say that Rome feared to lose her hold on Carthage; it is pleasanter to believe with others that Rome wanted to give the impression to Carthage as to Philip, both of whom seem exceedingly generous, that she was able with her own resources to meet even an emergency of this magnitude. It would be interesting to know whether

the treaty;¹ as to the money also, the reply was *B.C.* 191 that they would accept none before it was due.²

V. While this was going on at Rome, Antiochus at Chalcis, not to waste the winter in idleness,³ sometimes was himself stirring up the minds of the states by sending embassies, sometimes was receiving delegations voluntarily sent to him, as, for instance, the Epirotes, who came with the unanimous approval of the people, and the men of Elis from the Peloponnesus. The Elei were asking aid against the Achaeans, who, they thought, would attack their city first after declaring a war on Antiochus of which the Elei disapproved.⁴ A thousand infantry were sent to them under command of Euphanes the Cretan. The embassy of the Epirotes showed no outspoken and plain inclination to either side; they were trying to curry favour with the king, meanwhile avoiding giving any offence to the Romans. For they asked that he should not heedlessly involve them in the affair,⁵ being placed face to face with Italy, in the forefront of Greece and fated to receive the first attacks of the Romans. But if he himself could stand guard over Epirus with his armies and fleets, all the Epirotes would eagerly receive him in cities and harbours alike; if he could not, they

these recent enemies were simply politic or were really as well-disposed as their offers of help indicates.

³ Livy now resumes the narrative of events in the east, interrupted at the end of Book XXXV. The winter referred to is that of 192-191 B.C.

⁴ To judge by other casual references, such as Plutarch (*Cato* xii) and the hints in XXXV. 1, Greece was in a state of great unrest at this time, although Livy minimizes the trouble.

⁵ Polybius (XX. iii.) is more explicit, defining *causa* as the war itself.

A.U.C.
563

posset, deprecari ne se nudos atque inermes Romano
 6 bello obiceret. Hac legatione id agi apparebat, ut
 sive, quod magis credebant, abstinuisset Epiro,
 integra sibi omnia apud exercitus Romanos essent,
 conciliata satis apud regem gratia, quod accepturi
 7 fuissent venientem, sive venisset, sic quoque spes
 veniae ab Romanis foret, quos non expectato longin-
 quo ab se auxilio praesentis viribus succubuissent.
 8 Huic tam perplexae legationi quia non satis in
 promptu erat quid responderet, legatos se missurum
 ad eos dixit qui de iis, quae ad illos seque com-
 munitur pertinerent, loquerentur.

VI. In Boeotiam ipse profectus est, causas in
 speciem irae adversus Romanos eas quas ante dixi
 habentem, Brachyllae necem et bellum a Quinctio
 Coroneae propter Romanorum militum caedes illatum,
 2 re vera per multa iam saecula publice privatimque
 labante egregia quondam disciplina gentis et mul-
 torum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse sine mutatione
 3 rerum non posset. Obviam effusis undique Boeotiae
 principibus Thebas venit. Ibi in concilio gentis,
 quamquam et ad Delium impetu in praesidium

¹ One can hardly blame the Epirotes for trying to guard themselves against any contingency. Apollonia, the usual port of debarkation of the Romans, lay just to the north, and Roman armies would soon be passing through their country (we know little of the whereabouts of the army brought over by Baebius). On the other hand, if the strength of Antiochus in any degree equalled the large forces promised by him, he would probably not hesitate to cut loose from his bases and try to locate the theatre of operations on the west coast.

² Cf. XXXV. xlvii. 3 and the note.

³ Livy probably has in mind the period of Theban greatness under Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

⁴ Polybius (XX. iv. ff.) gives a more depressing picture of conditions in Boeotia. As the Aetolians had seen (XXXV.

begged that he should not make them, naked and ^{A.C. 191} unarmed, bear the brunt of the Roman war. It was clear that the object of the embassy was that either, if, as they rather believed, he kept away from Epirus, they might not be committed to anything in the eyes of the Roman armies, though they had well established their position with the king, since they had been ready to receive him if he came, or, if he did come, that thus there would be the hope of pardon from the Romans because, not expecting from them aid which was so far away, they had yielded to the might of the king who was so close at hand.¹ Since there was no sufficiently obvious reply to such an equivocal proposal, he said that he would send ambassadors to them to confer with them concerning the questions which pertained to them and himself alike.

VI. He himself proceeded to Boeotia, which had as apparent causes for anger at the Romans those occurrences which I mentioned before,² the murder of Brachyllas and the campaign carried on by Quinctius at Coronea by reason of the slaughtering of the Roman soldiers, while in fact the discipline³ in which that people was once eminent, in public and private, had for many years now been degenerating, and the condition of many was such that it could not last without a change of circumstances.⁴ With the chiefs of Boeotia coming out in crowds to meet him, he arrived in Thebes. There in the council of the people, although he had, both by the attack made on the Roman garrison at Delium⁵ and by the

xxxiv. 3), economic distress prepared many for any sort of political change: cf. XLII. xxx. 4.

⁵ Cf. XXXV. li.

A.U.C.
563

Romanum facto et ad Chalcidem commiserat nec parvis nec dubiis principiis bellum, tamen eandem orationem est exorsus,¹ qua in colloquio primo ad Chalcidem quaque per legatos in concilio Achaeorum usus erat, ut amicitiam secum institui,² non bellum indici Romanis postularet. Neminem quid ageretur fallebat; decretum tamen sub leni verborum praetextu³ pro rege adversus Romanos factum est.

Hac quoque gente adiuncta Chalcidem regressus, praemissis inde litteris, ut Demetriadem convenirent principes Aetolorum, cum quibus de summa rerum deliberaret, navibus eo ad diem indictum concilio venit. Et Amynder, accitus ad consultandum ex Athamania, et Hannibal Poenus, iam diu non adhibitus, interfuit ei consilio. Consultatum de Thessalorum gente est, quorum omnibus qui aderant voluntas temptanda videbatur. In eo modo diversae sententiae erant, quod alii extemplo agendum, alii ex Neme, quae tum ferme media erat, differendum in veris principium, et alii legatos tantummodo mittendos, alii⁴ cum omnibus copiis eundem censebant terrendosque metu, si cunctarentur.

VII. Cum circa hanc fere consultationem disceptatio omnis verteretur, Hannibal nominatim

¹ est exorsus *Kreyssig*: exorsus *B*.

² institui ς : constitui *B*.

³ praetextu ς : praetexto *B*.

⁴ alii ς : et alii *B*.

¹ Cf. XXXV. xxxvi. 5 ff.

² Cf. XXXV. xlviii. 8-9.

³ The precise terms of the decree are uncertain: perhaps it declared Boeotia neutral but lent encouragement to Antiochus.

⁴ In XXXV. xix. 7 the reconciliation of Hannibal and Antiochus was described; later the arguments of Thoas (XXXV. xlii. 6-14) were more effective.

capture of Chalcis, acts which were neither unimportant nor uncertain, engaged in war, he nevertheless began the same speech that he had used in the first conference at Chalcis¹ and that he had delivered through his delegates² in the council of the Achaeans, to wit, that he asked that they make a treaty of friendship with him, not that they declare war on the Romans. No one was deceived as to what was going on; nevertheless, a decree was passed, under a cloak of mild verbiage, in favour of the king and against the Romans.³

Having won over this people also, he returned to Chalcis, sending in advance letters to summon to Demetrius the chiefs of the Aetolians, with whom he could take counsel regarding the general policy, and himself arrived there by boat on the day appointed for the conference. Amynder also, summoned from Athamania to take part in the deliberations, and Hannibal the Carthaginian, who for a long time past had not been called in,⁴ attended the council. The question for consideration had to do with the Thessalian people, whose intentions, as all who were present agreed, should be ascertained. In the matter of procedure there were different opinions, some favouring immediate action, others thinking that they should postpone doing anything from the winter, which was now half gone, to the beginning of spring, while some thought that ambassadors only should be sent and others that he should go with his entire force and terrorize them if they hesitated.

VII. Since the whole debate centred practically on this one question, Hannibal, appealed to by name for his opinion, turned the king and all who

A.U.C.
563

interrogatus sententiam in universi belli cogitationem regem atque eos, qui aderant, tali oratione avertit. 2 " Si ex quo traiecimus in Graeciam, adhibitus essem in consilium, cum de Euboea deque Achaeis et de ¹ Boeotia agebatur, eandem sententiam dixissem quam 3 hodie cum de Thessalis agitur dicam. Ante omnia Philippum et Macedonas in societatem belli ² qua- 4 cumque ratione censeo deducendos esse. Nam quod ad Euboeam Boeotosque et Thessalos attinet, cui dubium est quin, ut quibus nullae suae vires sint, praesentibus adulando semper, quem metum in consilio habeant, eodem ad impetrandam veniam 5 utantur, simul ac Romanum exercitum in Graecia viderint, ad consuetum imperium se avertant, nec iis noxae futurum sit, quod, cum Romani procul abessent, vim tuam praesentis exercitusque tui 6 experiri noluerint ³? Quanto igitur prius potiusque est Philippum nobis coniungere quam hos? Cui, ⁴ si semel in causam descenderit, nihil integri futurum sit, ⁵ quique eas vires adferat, quae non accessio tantum ad Romanum esse bellum, sed per se ipsae 7 nuper sustinere potuerint Romanos. Hoc ego adiuncto—absit verbo invidia—qui dubitare de eventu possim, cum, quibus adversus Philippum

¹ et de ς : de B: deque M.

² in societatem belli ed. Frobeniana 1535: belli in societatem B ς .

³ noluerint ς : noluerunt B.

⁴ cui edd. vetl.: qui B ς .

⁵ futurum sit ς : futuri sint B.

¹ The speech of Hannibal is also reported by Appian (*Syr.* 14), and both versions are probably derived from Polybius.

² A *causa integra* was one which left the person concerned free to choose his course of action. An alliance between

were present to the consideration of the war as a B.C. 191 whole, by a speech of the following character: ¹

" If I had been invited to the council from the time we crossed to Greece, when the question concerned Euboea or the Achaeans or Boeotia, I should have expressed the same opinion as to-day when we are discussing the Thessalians. Before anything else, I vote that Philip and the Macedonians be drawn, in any possible way, into a military alliance. For as to Euboea and the Boeotians and the Thessalians, who doubts that they, possessing no strength of their own, are ever fawning upon those who are close at hand, and will use the same fearfulness which they display in the council as a means of winning pardon, and that, as soon as they see the Roman army in Greece, they will turn back to their accustomed masters and that they will suffer no harm because, when the Romans were far away, they were unwilling to test, face to face, the strength of you and your army? How much greater priority and preference should we give to allying ourselves with Philip rather than with them? He, if once he joins our cause, will have no choice left, ² and he can contribute that strength which will be not merely an additional resource for the Roman war, but one which by itself alone was able recently to withstand the Romans. With this reinforcement—may I say so without offence ³—how can I doubt the result when I see that those very men with whose

Philip and Antiochus would at once commit Philip to war with Rome, and so leave *nihil integri* to him.

³ The term *invidia* always suggests "casting the evil eye upon" the person or act involved. Here proud words were held to provoke the jealousy of the powers above, and Hannibal is deprecating this *invidia*.

A.U.C.
563

valuerint Romani, iis nunc fore videam, ut ipsi
 8 oppugnentur? Aetoli, qui Philippum, quod inter
 omnes constat, vicerunt, cum Philippo adversus
 9 Romanos pugnabunt; Amynder atque Athamanum
 gens, quorum secundum Aetolos plurima fuit opera
 10 in eo bello, nobiscum stabunt; Philippus tum te
 quieto totam molem sustinebat belli; nunc duo
 maximi reges Asiae Europaeque viribus adversus
 unum populum, ut meam utramque fortunam taceam,
 patrum certe aetate ne uni quidem Epirotarum regi
 parem (qui quid¹ tandem erat² vobiscum com-
 11 paratus?) geretis bellum. Quae igitur res mihi
 fiduciam praebet coniungi nobis Philippum posse?
 Una, communis utilitas, quae societatis maximum
 12 vinculum est; altera, auctores vos Aetoli. Vester
 enim legatus hic Thoas inter cetera quae ad excien-
 dum in Graeciam Antiochum dicere est solitus, ante
 omnia hoc semper affirmavit, fremere Philippum et
 aegre pati sub specie pacis leges servitutis sibi
 13 impositas. Ille quidem ferae³ bestiae vinctae aut
 clausae et refringere claustra cupienti regis iram
 verbis aequabat. Cuius si talis animus est, solvamus
 nos eius vincula et claustra refringamus, ut erumpere
 14 diu coercitam iram in hostes communes possit. Quod
 si nihil eum legatio nostra moverit, at nos, quoniam
 nobis eum adiungere non possumus, ne hostibus
 15 nostris ille adiungi possit, caveamus. Seleucus filius
 tuus Lysimachiae est; qui si eo exercitu quem
 secum habet, per Thraciam proxima Macedoniae

¹ qui quid *Doujat*: quicquid *B*: quid *M*: quidquid *ς*.

² erat *Madvig*: erit *M*^ς: *om. B*.

³ ferae *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ut ferae *B*^ς.

¹ In XXXV. xviii. 6 this figure is attributed to Alexander the Acarnanian.

assistance the Romans prevailed over Philip will B.C. 191
 now be overwhelming the Romans themselves? The
 Aetolians who, as all agree, defeated Philip, will
 fight with Philip against the Romans; Amynder
 and the nation of the Athamanes, whose services in
 that war were the greatest after those of the
 Aetolians, will stand with us; Philip then, when
 you were inactive, bore the whole burden of the war;
 now you, the two mightiest kings of Asia and Europe,
 will wage war against one people which, not to speak
 of my own twofold experience, in the time of our
 fathers at least could not contend even against one
 king of Epirus—and how could he be compared with
 you? What cause, then, convinces me that Philip
 can be allied with us? First, the common profit,
 which is the firmest bond in an alliance; second, the
 assurances of you Aetolians. For your repre-
 sentative, Thoas here, among other reasons which
 he was wont to use to attract Antiochus to Greece,
 continually made this assertion before all else, that
 Philip was enraged and that he found it hard to bear
 the laws of slavery imposed upon him under the guise
 of peace. Indeed in his speech he likened the king
 in his wrath to a wild beast chained or shut up and
 trying to break his bonds.¹ If such is his temper,
 let us break his chains and tear away his bars, that
 he may let loose his long-restrained passion upon the
 common enemy. But if our embassy to him does
 not move him, let us at least, since we cannot unite
 him with ourselves, see to it that he does not make
 common cause with our foes. Your son Seleucus is
 at Lysimachia; if with that army which he has with
 him he shall begin to move through Thrace and
 devastate the adjacent portions of Macedonia, he

A.U.C.
563

- coeperit depopulari, facile ab auxilio ferendo Romanis
 16 Philippum ad sua potissimum tuenda avertet. De
 Philippo meam sententiam habes; de ratione
 universi belli quid sentirem, iam ab initio non
 ignorasti. Quod si tum auditus forem, non in Euboea
 Chalcidem captam et castellum Euripi expugnatum
 Romani,¹ sed Etruriam Ligurumque et Galliae
 Cisalpinae oram bello ardere, et, qui maximus iis
 17 terror est, Hannibalem in Italia esse audirent. Nunc
 quoque accersas censeo omnes navales terrestresque
 copias; sequantur classem onerariae cum com-
 meatibus; nam hic sicut ad belli munera pauci
 sumus, sic nimis multi pro inopia commeatum.
 18 Cum omnes tuas contraxeris vires, divisa classe
 partem Corcyrae in statione habebis, ne transitus
 19 Romanis liber ac tutus pateat, partem ad litus Italiae,
 quod Sardiniam Africamque spectat, traicies; ipse
 cum omnibus terrestribus copiis in Bullinum agrum
 20 procedes; inde Graeciae praesidebis, et speciem
 Romanis traiecturum te praebens et, si res poposcerit,
 traiecturus. Haec suadeo, qui ut non omnis peritissi-
 mus sim belli, cum Romanis certe bellare bonis
 21 malisque meis didici. In quae consilium dedi, in
 eadem nec infidelem nec segnem operam polliceor.
 Dii approbent eam sententiam quae tibi optima visa
 fuerit."

VIII. Haec ferme Hannibalis oratio fuit; quam
 laudarunt magis in praesentia qui aderant, quam

¹ romani *ς*: romanis *B*: a romanis *M*.

¹ Bullis (Byllis) was a town on the Illyrian coast not far
 from Apollonia.

will easily turn Philip from sending aid to the Romans A.C. 191
 to the more important task of defending his own
 possessions. As to Philip you have my views; even
 from the first you have not been ignorant of my
 opinion as to the strategy of the war as a whole. If
 I had been listened to then, the Romans would not
 now be hearing that Chalcis in Euboea was captured
 and a fort on the Euripus, but that Etruria and the
 coasts of Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul were aflame
 with war and—this is what they dread beyond
 everything else—that Hannibal is in Italy. Now too
 I vote that you summon all your forces on land and
 sea; let cargo-boats follow with supplies, for, as we
 are few here for the tasks of war, so we are too many
 in proportion to our shortage of supplies. When
 you have assembled all your strength, you will
 divide your fleet, keeping part on guard near Corcyra,
 that free and safe passage may not be open to the
 Romans, and sending part across to the coast of
 Italy which faces Sardinia and Africa; you yourself
 will go ahead with all your armies to the territory of
 Bullis;¹ thence you will stand guard over Greece
 and offer to the Romans the appearance of being
 about to cross, and, if the situation shall demand it,
 will actually cross. This is the advice I give, I who,
 though I am not well versed in every kind of war,
 with the Romans at least have learned to fight from
 my own successes and failures. For this same
 programme which I have advised I promise aid
 neither faithless nor reluctant. May the gods
 approve that proposal which shall have seemed to
 you the best."

VIII. This was in purport the speech of Hannibal;
 those who were present applauded it for the moment

A. U. C.
568

rebus ipsis exsecuti sunt; nihil enim eorum factum est, nisi quod ad classem copiasque accersendas ex
 2 Asia Polyxenidam misit. Legati Larisam ad concilium Thessalorum sunt missi, et Aetolis Amyndroque dies ad conveniendum exercitui Pheras est dictus; eodem et rex cum suis copiis confestim venit.
 3 Ubi dum opperitur Amyndrum atque Aetolos, Philippum Megalopolitanum cum duobus milibus hominum ad legenda ossa Macedonum circa Cynoscephalas, ubi debellatum erat cum Philippo, misit, sive ab ipso, quaerente sibi commendationem ad Macedonum gentem et invidiam regi, quod insepultos milites reliquisset, monitus, sive ab insita regibus vanitate ad consilium specie amplum, re inane animo
 5 adiecto. Tumulus est in unum ossibus quae passim strata¹ erant coacervatis factus, qui nullam gratiam ad Macedonas, odium ingens ad Philippum movit.
 6 Itaque qui ad id tempus fortunam esset habiturus in consilio, is extemplo ad M. Baebium propraetorem misit, Antiochum in Thessaliam impetum fecisse; si videretur ei, moveret ex hibernis; se obviam processurum, ut, quid agendum esset, consultarent.

IX. Antiocho ad Pheras iam castra habenti, ubi coniunxerant ei se² Aetoli et Amynder, legati ab Larisa venerunt quaerentes quod ob factum dictumve³ Thessalorum bello lacesseret eos, simul

¹ strata ε: tracta B.² ei se ε: eis B.³ ob factum dictumve ε: ob hoc factum dictumque B.

¹ For this Philip and his aspirations to the Macedonian throne, see XXXV. xlvii. 5-8. The identity of names introduces unnecessary confusion into the passage.

² Philip had decided to await developments before adopting any course of action; his resentment at Antiochus now leads him to join forces with the Romans.

rather than adopted it in actual decisions; for B.C. 191 nothing of these things was done, save that he sent Polyxenidas to summon the fleet and troops from Asia. Ambassadors were sent to Larisa to the council of the Thessalians, and a day was fixed for the Aetolians and Amynder to hold the muster of the army at Pherae; the king also with his troops came with speed to the same place. While he was waiting there for Amynder and the Aetolians, he sent Philip of Megalopolis with two thousand men to collect the bones of the Macedonians around Cynoscephalae, where the decisive battle with Philip was fought, whether he was prompted by Philip of Megalopolis,¹ who was seeking for himself some recommendation to the people of the Macedonians and unpopularity for the king because he had left his soldiers unburied, or whether, with the native vanity of kings, he turned his thoughts to a plan attractive in appearance but useless in fact. A burial mound was erected by gathering together the bones which were scattered everywhere, but among the Macedonians it caused no gratitude and in King Philip an immense resentment. And so he, who up to that time had decided to take fortune as the guide to his policy,² at once wrote to Marcus Baebius the propraetor to say that Antiochus had invaded Thessaly; if it seemed wise to Baebius he should move from winter quarters; he himself would come to meet him to consult what should be done.

IX. While Antiochus was in camp at Pherae, where the Aetolians and Amynder had joined him, ambassadors from Larisa came asking for what deed or word of the Thessalians he was assailing them with war, and likewise asking that he should with-

A.U.C.
563

orantes ut remoto exercitu per legatos, si quid ei
 3 videretur, secum disceptaret. Eodem tempore quin-
 gentos armatos duce Hippolochō Pheras in praesidium
 miserunt; ii exclusi aditu, iam omnia itinera obsiden-
 4 tibus regiis, Scotusam se receperunt. Legatis
 Larisaeorum rex clementer respondit, non belli
 faciendi sed tuendae et stabiliendae libertatis
 5 Thessalorum causa se Thessaliam intrasse. Similia
 his qui cum Pheraeis ageret, missus; cui nullo dato
 responso Pheraei ipsi legatum ad regem principem
 6 civitatis Pausaniam miserunt. Qui cum haud dis-
 similia iis, ut in causa pari, quae pro Chalcidensibus
 in colloquio ad Euripi fretum dicta erant, quaedam
 7 etiam ferocius egisset, rex etiam atque etiam delibe-
 rare eos iussos, ne id consilii caperent, cuius, dum in
 futurum nimis cauti et providi essent, extemplo
 8 paeniteret, dimisit. Haec renunciata Pheras legatio
 cum esset, ne paulum quidem dubitarunt quin pro
 fide erga Romanos, quidquid fors belli tulisset, pate-
 9 rentur. Itaque et hi summa ope parabant se ad
 urbem defendendam, et rex ab omni parte simul
 oppugnare moenia est adgressus et, ut qui satis
 10 intellegeret—neque enim dubium erat—in eventu
 eius urbis positum esse quam primam adgressus esset,
 aut sperni deinde ab universa gente Thessalorum aut
 timeri se, omnem undique terrorem obsessis iniecit.

¹ Probably the conference reported at XXXV. xxxviii. 8 ff.

draw his army and discuss with them through A.C. 191
 ambassadors whatever seemed to him worth con-
 sidering. At the same time they sent five hundred
 armed men under command of Hippolochus as a
 garrison for Pherae; they were prevented from
 entering, all the roads being now blocked by the
 king's forces, and retired to Scotusa. The king re-
 sponded mildly to the ambassadors of the Larisaeans,
 that he had entered Thessaly not to make war but
 to defend and assure the liberty of the Thessalians.
 A delegate was sent to conduct similar negotiations
 with the people of Pherae; giving him no answer,
 the Pheraeans themselves sent to the king Pausanias,
 their chief magistrate. When he had with a good
 deal of vigour presented certain arguments not
 unlike those which, in a similar situation, had been
 used on behalf of the Chalcidians in the conference
 at the strait of Euripus,¹ the king, bidding them
 again and again to ponder and not to adopt any
 plan of which, while being too cautious and thought-
 ful for the future, they would at once repent,
 dismissed him. When this mission was reported at
 Pherae, they did not even for a brief period doubt
 that they should, for the sake of their loyalty to the
 Romans, endure whatever the fortune of war might
 bring. And so both the Pheraeans were preparing
 with all their might to defend their city and the
 king was attempting to assault the town from every
 side at once, and, since he clearly understood—for
 there was no question about it—that it depended
 on the fate of this city which he attacked first,
 whether he should thenceforth be either scorned or
 feared by the whole nation of the Thessalians, he
 brought every form of terror to bear from all sides

A.U.C.
563

- 11 Primum impetum oppugnationis satis constanter
sustinuerunt; dein cum multi propugnantes caderent
12 aut vulnerarentur, labare animi coeperunt. Revocati
deinde castigationibus principum ad perseverandum
in proposito, relicto exteriori circulo muri, deficienti-
bus iam copiis in interiorem partem urbis conces-
serunt cui¹ brevior orbis munitionis circumiectus erat;
postremo victi malis, cum timerent, ne vi captis nulla
13 apud victorem venia esset, dederunt sese. Nihil
deinde² moratus rex quattuor milia³ armatorum,
dum recens terror esset, Scotusam misit. Nec ibi
mora deditionis est facta cernentibus Pheraeorum
14 recens exemplum, qui, quod pertinaciter primo
abnuerant, malo domiti tandem fecissent; cum ipsa
urbe Hippolochus Larisaeorumque deditum est
15 praesidium. Dimissi ab rege inviolati omnes, quod
eam rem magni momenti futuram rex ad conciliandos
Larisaeorum animos credebat.

X. Intra decimum diem quam⁴ Pheras venerat,
his perfectis Crannonem profectus cum toto exercitu
2 primo adventu cepit. Inde Cierium et Metropolim
et iis circumiecta castella recepit; omniaque iam
regionis eius praeter Atracem et Gyrtonem in
3 potestate erant. Tunc aggredi Larisam constituit
ratus vel terrore ceterarum expugnataram vel bene-
ficio praesidii dimissi vel exemplo tot civitatum
dedentium sese non ultra in pertinacia mansuros.

¹ cui ̄: quibus B.

² deinde ̄: inde B.

³ quattuor milia ̄: .IIII. B: mille trecentos M.

⁴ quam ̄: quod B.

¹ It is uncertain which of two towns of this name is meant: one was near Cierium, the other near Atrax.

upon the besieged. The first brunt of the attack B.C. 191
they bore with sufficient resolution; then, when
many of the defenders had fallen or were wounded,
their courage began to fail. Recalled then by the
reproofs of their captains to persevere in their
purpose, leaving the outer line of wall as their
strength was now diminishing, they retired into the
inner quarter of the city, which was surrounded
by a rampart less long than the other; finally,
overcome by their misfortunes and feeling that no
quarter would be given by the conqueror if they
were taken fighting, they surrendered. Then the
king without delay, while the terror was still new,
sent four thousand troops to Scotusa. There was
no delay there in surrendering when they con-
sidered the recent case of the Pheraeans, who had
finally, conquered by their ills, done what they had
at first tenaciously refused to do; with the city itself
Hippolochus and the garrison of Larisaeans were
surrendered. All were released without injury by
the king, because this act, in the king's opinion,
would have great weight in winning the sympathies
of the Larisaeans.

X. All this was accomplished within ten days after
his arrival at Pherae, and going to Crannon with his
entire army he captured it as soon as he reached it.
Then he took Cierium and Metropolis¹ and the forts
around them; and everything in that region except
Atrax and Gyrto was in his power. Then he decided
to attack Larisa, thinking that either from the fear
inspired by the capture of the other towns or by their
gratitude at the release of their garrison or from
the example of so many other states that had sub-
mitted they would not continue long in their stubborn

A.U.C.
563

4 Elephantis agi ante signa terroris causa iussis quadrato agmine ad urbem incessit, ut incerti fluctuarentur animi magnae partis Larisaeorum inter metum praesentem hostium et verecundiam absentium¹
 5 sociorum. Per eosdem dies Amynder cum Athamanum iuventute occupat Pellinaeum, et Menippus cum tribus milibus peditum Aetolorum et ducentis equitibus in Perrhaebiam profectus Malloeam et Cyretias vi cepit et² depopulatus est agrum Tripolitani-
 6 tanum. His raptim peractis Larisam ad regem redeunt; consultant quidnam agendum de Larisa
 7 esset, supervenerunt. Ibi in diversum sententiae tendebant aliis vim adhibendam et non differendum censentibus, quin operibus ac machinis simul undique moenia aggrediretur urbis sitae in plano, aperto et³
 8 campestri undique aditu, aliis nunc vires⁴ urbis nequaquam Pheris conferendae memorantibus, nunc hiemem et tempus anni nulli bellicae rei, minime
 9 obsidioni atque oppugnationi urbium aptum. Incerte regi inter spem metumque legati a Pharsalo, qui ad dedendam urbem suam forte venerant, animos
 10 auxerunt. M. Baebius interim cum Philippo in Dassaretiis congressus Ap. Claudium ex communi consilio ad praesidium Larisae misit, qui per Macedoniam magnis itineribus in iugum montium, quod
 11 super Gonnos est, pervenit. Oppidum Gonni viginti milia ab Larisa abest, in ipsis faucibus saltus, quae

¹ absentium ζ : absentem B.² cepit et *Weissenborn*: cepit B ζ .³ aperto et *Duker*: apertae B ζ .⁴ nunc vires ζ : nunc cuius res B: tunc vires M.

¹ These are the foothills of Mount Olympus. The town of Gonni commanded the western approaches to Tempe.

resistance. Ordering the elephants to be driven B.C. 191 before the standards to inspire fear, he marched up to the town in a hollow square, so that the thoughts of a great part of the Larisaeans wavered doubtfully between immediate fear of the enemy and respect for their distant allies. About the same time Amynder with all the youth of the Athamanes took possession of Pellinacium, and Menippus with three thousand Aetolian infantry and two hundred cavalry marched into Perrhaebia, took Malloea and Cyretiae by storm and laid waste the fields of Tripolis. Having done all this with speed, they returned to the king at Larisa; they arrived there while he was considering what he should do about Larisa. There opinions turned different ways, some urging that they ought to employ force and not to delay assaulting with siege-works and artillery from all sides at once, upon the walls of a town lying in a plain open and level to approach from any direction, others reminding him now that the strength of this city was by no means to be compared with that of Pherae, now that it was winter and a time unsuited to all military operations and particularly to the siege and storming of cities. While the king was wavering between hope and fear, ambassadors from Pharsalus, who by chance had come to surrender their city, gave him new courage. In the meantime Marcus Baebius had met Philip in the country of the Dassaretii, and as a result of the agreement of the two he sent Appius Claudius to the defence of Larisa, and he came by forced marching through Macedonia to the ridge of mountains¹ which lies above Gonni. The town of Gonni is twenty miles from Larisa, situated at the very entrance to the defile which

A.U.C.
563

Tempe appellantur, situm. Ibi castra metatus latius quam pro copiis et plures quam quot satis in usum erant ignes cum accendisset, speciem, quam quæsierat, hosti fecit omnem ibi Romanum exercitum
 12 cum rege Philippo esse. Itaque hiemem instare¹ apud suos causatus rex unum tantum moratus diem ab Larisa recessit et Demetriadem rediit, Aetolique
 13 et Athamanes in suos receperunt se fines. Appius etsi cuius rei causa missus erat, solutam cernebat obsidionem, tamen Larisam ad confirmandos in
 14 reliquum sociorum animos descendit; duplexque laetitia erat, quod et hostes excesserant finibus, et intra moenia praesidium Romanum cernebant.

XI. Rex Chalcidem a Demetriade, amore captus virginis Chalcidensis, Cleoptolemi filiae, cum patrem primo allegando, deinde coram ipse rogando fati-
 2 gasset, invitum se gravioris fortunae condicioni illigantem, tandem impetrata re tamquam in media pace nuptias celebrat² et reliquum³ hiemis, oblitus quantas simul duas res suscepisset, bellum Romanum et Graeciam liberandam, omissa omnium rerum cura, in conviviis et vinum sequentibus voluptatibus ac deinde ex fatigatione magis quam satietate earum
 3 in somno traduxit. Eadem omnes praefectos regios,

¹ instare ς : stare B.

² celebrat ς : celebrabat B.

³ reliquum (relicum) ς : relictum B.

¹ Polybius (XX. viii.) adds other details, that Antiochus was now fifty years old, that Cleoptolemus was a man of rank, and that his daughter, whom Antiochus named Euboea, was of extraordinary beauty, and that she escaped to Ephesus after the defeat at Thermopylae. On the other hand, he says

they call Tempe. When he had laid out a camp there too large in proportion to the size of his force and built more fires than were necessary for practical purposes, he created in the enemy the impression he had desired, that the whole Roman army with King Philip was there. So the king, using as a pretext to his men the approach of winter, delayed only one day and retired from Larisa and withdrew to Demetrias, and the Aetolians and Athamanes returned to their own countries. Although Appius saw that the siege had been raised, which had been the purpose of his coming, he yet went down to Larisa to reassure the minds of the allies for the future; and there was double joy, both because the enemy had left their country and because they saw a Roman garrison within the walls.

XI. From Demetrias the king went on to Chalcis, having fallen in love with a young woman of Chalcis, the daughter of Cleoptolemus,¹ and when he had worn her father out first by sending messengers, then by personal requests delivered verbally, the father being reluctant to entangle himself in a match which promised too great difficulties, at length he gained his point, and as if in the midst of peace he celebrated his nuptials and for the rest of the winter, forgetful of the magnitude of the two tasks he had undertaken, the Roman war and the liberation of Greece, laying aside the responsibility for everything he engaged in banquets and the delights which follow wine and then, from weariness rather than satiety of these pleasures, he gave himself over to sleep. This same habit of easy living seized all the king's prefects who were

nothing of the reluctance of her father to permit the match, and he makes less of the unsuitability of Antiochus' conduct.

A.U.C.
563

qui ubique, ad Boeotiam maxime, praepositi hibernis
erant, cepit luxuria; in eandem et milites effusi sunt,
nec quisquam eorum aut arma induit¹ aut stationem
4 aut vigiliis servavit aut quicquam, quod militaris
5 operis aut muneris esset, fecit. Itaque principio veris,
cum per Phocidem Chaeroneam, quo convenire
omnem undique exercitum iusserat, venisset, facile
animadvertit nihilo severiore disciplina milites quam
6 ducem hibernasse. Alexandrum inde Acarnana et
Menippum Macedonem Stratum² Aetoliae copias
ducere iussit; ipse Delphis sacrificio Apollini facto
7 Naupactum processit. Consilio³ principum Aetoliae
habito via, quae praeter Calydonem et Lysimachiam
fert ad Stratum,⁴ suis qui per Maliacum sinum
8 veniebant occurrit. Ibi Mnasilochus princeps Acarnanum,
multis emptus donis, non ipse solum gentem
regi conciliabat, sed Clytum etiam praetorem, penes
quem tum summa potestas erat, in suam sententiam
9 adduxerat. Is cum Leucadios, quod Acarnaniae
caput est, non facile ad defectionem posse cerneret
impelli propter metum Romanae classis, quae cum
Atilio quaeque⁵ circa Cephallaniam erat, arte⁶ eos
10 est aggressus. Nam cum in concilio dixisset tuenda
mediterranea Acarnaniae esse et omnibus qui arma
ferrent exeundum ad Medionem et Thyrraeum, ne ab
11 Antiocho aut Aetolis occuparentur, fuere qui dicerent

¹ induit 5: induxit B. ² stratum 5: magistratum B.

³ consilio J. Gronovius: concilio B5.

⁴ ad stratum 5: astratum B.

⁵ quaeque Weissenborn: quae B: quaeue 5.

⁶ arte 5: ante B.

¹ In iii. 14 above the narrative of events in Rome was brought up to May. The account of events in Greece is now abreast of it.

in command of the winter camps everywhere, especially in Boeotia; the soldiers too fell into the same way of life, nor did one of them put on his armour or walk his post or perform sentinel-duty or do anything else which pertained to the tasks and duties of a soldier. And so at the beginning of spring,¹ when he had come by way of Phocis to Chaeronea, where he had ordered the whole army to assemble from all its stations, he readily perceived that the soldiers had spent the winter under no sterner discipline than their commander. Then he ordered Alexander the Acarnanian and Menippus the Macedonian to conduct their troops to Stratus in Aetolia; he himself offered sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi and proceeded to Naupactus. Having held a conference with the Aetolian chiefs, on the road which leads past Calydon and Lysimachia to Stratus, he met his own men who were marching by way of the Malian gulf. There Mnasilochus, a leading Acarnanian, purchased by many gifts, did not merely by his own efforts win over the people to the king's side, but even brought Clytus the praetor, who at that time held the chief magistracy, over to his own opinion. When he saw that the people of Leucas, this being the principal city of Acarnania, could not easily be induced to rebel, because of their fear of the Roman fleet which was with Atilius and which was off Cephallania, he attacked them by guile. For when he had said in the council that the interior portions of Acarnania should be defended and that all who could bear arms should repair to Medio and Thyrraeum, that these towns might not be captured by Antiochus or the Aetolians, there were some who argued that it was unnecessary that all should be called out as for a

A.U.C.
563

nihil attinere omnes tumultuose concitari, satis esse quingentorum hominum praesidium. Eam iuventutem nactus, trecentis Medione, ducentis Thyrraei¹ in praesidio positus, id agebat ut pro obsidibus futuri venirent in potestatem regis.

XII. Per eosdem² dies legati regis Medionem venerunt; quibus auditis cum in contione, quidnam respondendum regi esset, consultaretur, et alii³ manendum in Romana societate, alii non aspernandam amicitiam regis censerent, media visa est⁴ Clyti sententia eoque accepta, ut ad regem mitterent legatos peterentque ab eo ut Medionios super tanta re consultare in concilio Acarnanum pateretur. In eam legationem Mnasilochus et qui eius factionis erant de industria coniecti, clam missis qui regem admoveere copias iuberent ipsi terebant tempus. Itaque vixdum iis egressis legatis Antiochus in finibus et mox ad portas erat, et trepidantibus, qui expertes prodicionis fuerant, tumultuoseque iuventutem ad arma vocantibus ab Clyto et Mnasilocho in urbem est inductus; et aliis sua voluntate adfluentibus metu coacti etiam, qui³ dissentiebant, ad regem convenerunt. Quos⁴ placida oratione territos cum permulsisset, ad spem vulgatae clementiae aliquot populi Acarnaniae defecerunt. Thyrraeum a Medione profectus est Mnasilocho eodem et legatis

¹ trecentis medione ducentis thyrraei 5: praesentis medio deducentis turri B.

² eosdem 5: eos B.

³ qui 5: quod B.

⁴ quos 5: quod B.

major emergency, but that a garrison of five hundred men was adequate. Obtaining this number of young men and placing three hundred at Medio and two hundred at Thyrraeum as garrisons, he so conducted matters that these might fall into the hands of the king to serve as hostages. B.C. 191

XII. About this time the ambassadors of the king reached Medio; when they had been heard and the general assembly was debating the question of what answer should be given the king, and some urged that they should abide by the Roman alliance and others that the friendship of the king should not be disdained, the opinion of Clytus seemed to take the middle course and was therefore adopted, that they should send ambassadors to the king and ask him to permit the people of Medio to deliberate on so important a matter in the council of the Acarnanians. Mnasilochus and those who belonged to his faction were deliberately thrust into this embassy, and sending secret messages to the king to urge him to move his army forward, they themselves wasted time. Accordingly, when the ambassadors had barely set out, Antiochus was already at the frontier and soon before the gates, and while those who were without knowledge of the treachery were in panic and were excitedly calling the youth to arms, he was admitted into the city by Clytus and Mnasilochus; and as some flocked to him voluntarily, those who disagreed also, under the compulsion of fear, joined the king. When he had pacified the terror-stricken by a kindly speech, several states of Acarnania went over to him, attracted by the hope of his well-known clemency. He proceeded to Thyrraeum from Medio, sending ahead the same Mnasilochus

A.U.C.
563

praemissis. Ceterum detecta Medione fraus cautiores, non timidiores Thyreenses fecit; dato enim¹ haud perplexo responso, nullam se novam societatem nisi ex auctoritate imperatorum Romanorum accepturos, portisque² clausis armatos in muris disposuerunt. Et peropportune ad confirmandos Acarnanum animos Cn. Octavius missus a Quinctio, cum praesidium et paucas naves ab A. Postumio, qui ab Atilio legato Cephallaniae praepositus fuerat, acceperat, Leucadem venit implevitque spei socios M'. Acilium consulem iam cum legionibus mare traiecisse et in Thessalia castra Romana esse. Hunc rumorem³ quia similem veri tempus anni maturum iam ad navigandum faciebat, rex praesidio Medione imposito et in quibusdam aliis Acarnaniae oppidis Thyreo abscessit et per Aetoliae ac Phocidis urbes Chalcidem rediit.

XIII. Sub idem tempus M. Baebius et Philippus rex, iam ante per hiemem in Dassaretiis congressi, cum Ap. Claudium, ut obsidione Larisam eximeret, in Thessaliam misissent, quia id tempus rebus gerendis immaturum erat, in hiberna regressi, principio veris conjunctis copiis in Thessaliam descenderunt. In Acarnania tum Antiochus erat. Advenientes Philippus Malloeam Perrhaebiae, Baebius Phacium est adgressus; quo primo prope impetu capto Phaestum eadem celeritate capit. Inde Atracem cum se recepisset, Cyretias hinc et Eritium occupat, prae-

¹ dato enim 5: dato B.² portisque 5: portis B.³ rumorem 5: cruorem B.

¹ Atilius would normally be called *propraetor*, as is Baebius in viii. 6 above, since both were waiting for their successors.

and the ambassadors. But the treachery disclosed B.C. 191 at Medio made the people of Thyreum more cautious, not more fearful; giving an answer quite free from ambiguity, to the effect that they would enter upon no new alliance except with the authorization of the Roman commanders, they closed the gates and disposed guards along the walls. And, very fortunately for the reassurance of the minds of the Acarnanians, Gnaeus Octavius, sent by Quinctius, when he had received an escort and a few ships from Aulus Postumius, who had been placed in command at Cephallania by Atilius the lieutenant,¹ came to Leucas and filled the allies with the hope that the consul Manius Acilius with the legions had already crossed the sea and that there was a Roman camp in Thessaly. Since this rumour was rendered plausible by the fact that the season of the year was now suitable for navigation, the king left garrisons at Medio and certain other towns in Acarnania, went away from Thyreum and returned by way of the cities in Aetolia and Phocis to Chalcis.

XIII. About the same time Marcus Baebius and King Philip, who had already previously met in the country of the Dassaretii, when they had sent Appius Claudius into Thessaly to raise the siege of Larisa, and, because the time seemed too early for active campaigning, had returned to their winter quarters, at the beginning of spring joined their forces and marched down into Thessaly. Antiochus was then in Acarnania. When they arrived, Philip attacked Malloea in Perrhaebia, and Baebius Phacium; when this fell at the first assault Baebius took Phaestum with the same speed. When he had turned back from there to Atrax, he next occupied Cyretiae

A.U.C.
563

sidiisque per recepta oppida dispositis Philippo rursus
 5 obsidenti Malloeam se coniungit. Sub adventum¹
 Romani exercitus seu ad metum virium seu ad spem
 veniae cum deditissent sese, ad ea recipienda oppida,
 quae Athamanes occupaverant, uno agmine ierunt.
 6 Erant autem haec: Aeginium Ericinium Gomphi
 7 Silana Tricca Meliboea Phaloria. Inde Pellinaeum,
 ubi Philippus Megalopolitanus cum quingentis
 peditibus et equitibus quadraginta in praesidio erat,
 circumsidunt et, priusquam oppugnarent, mittunt ad
 Philippum qui monerent ne vim ultimam experiri
 8 vellet. Quibus ille satis ferociter respondit vel
 Romanis vel Thessalis se crediturum fuisse, in Philippi
 9 se potestatem commissurum non esse. Postquam
 apparuit vi agendum, quia videbatur et Limnaeum
 eodem tempore oppugnari posse, regem ad Lim-
 naeum ire placuit, Baebius restitit ad Pellinaeum
 oppugnandum.

XIV. Per eos forte dies M'. Acilius consul cum
 viginti² milibus peditum, duobus milibus equitum,
 quindecim elephantis mari trajecto pedestres copias
 Larisam ducere tribunos militum iussit; ipse cum
 2 equitatu Limnaeum ad Philippum venit. Adventu

¹ aduentum *ed. Moguntina* 1518: aduentu *B.*

² viginti *J. F. Gronovius*: .X. *B.*

¹ These towns, so far as they can be located, were on the western borders of Thessaly. Cf. x. 5 above.

² That is, King Philip, who naturally resented his name-sake's aspirations.

³ Cf. iii. 13 above. It is not easy to account for these troops. In XXXV. xli. 4 the senate authorized 10,000 infantry and 700 cavalry for this campaign, in addition to the two legions commanded by Baebius, but these legions were still

and Eritium, and establishing garrisons in the towns B.C. 191
 he had recovered he rejoined Philip, who was still engaged in the siege of Malloea. When at the coming of the Roman army the people of Malloea had surrendered, whether through fear of Roman might or in the hope of pardon, Baebius and Philip moved in one column to retake the towns which the Athamanes had occupied. These were the following: Aeginium, Ericinium, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca, Meliboea, Phaloria.¹ Then Pellinaeum, where Philip of Megalopolis with five hundred infantry and forty cavalry was in the garrison, was surrounded, and before they stormed it they sent to Philip to advise him not to wish to try resistance to the last. To this he replied with sufficient vehemence that he would entrust himself either to the Romans or to the Thessalians but would not put himself in the power of Philip.² When it was evident that force must be employed, because it seemed that Limnaeum could be stormed at the same time, it was decided that the king should go to Limnaeum while Baebius remained to attack Pellinaeum.

XIV. During this time, as it happened, Manius Acilius the consul crossed the sea with twenty thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and fifteen elephants,³ and ordered the military tribunes to lead the infantry to Larisa; he himself with the cavalry went to Philip at Limnaeum. The arrival of the

at Pellinaeum. The 5,000 allies from Greece were probably not included. The elephants may be part of the twenty promised by Masinissa (iv. 8 above). The loss of this portion of the text of Polybius increases the difficulty, but he is probably the source of this passage, since Appian (*Syr.* 17) agrees generally with Livy. Acilius probably disembarked at Apollonia and marched down the western coast of Epirus.

A.U.C.
563

consulis deditio sine cunctatione est facta, traditumque¹ praesidium regium et cum iis Athamanes. 3 Ab Limnaeo Pellinaeum consul proficiscitur. Ibi primi Athamanes tradiderunt sese, deinde et 4 Philippus Megalopolitanus; cui decedenti² praesidio cum obviis forte fuisset Philippus rex, ad ludibrium regem eum consalutari iussit, ipse congressus fratrem haud sane decoro maiestati³ suae ioco appellavit. 5 Deductus inde ad consulem custodiri iussus est⁴ et haud ita multo post in vinculis Romam missus. Cetera multitudo Athamanum aut militum Antiochi regis, quae in praesidiis deditorum per eos dies oppidorum fuerat, Philippo tradita regi est; fuere autem 6 ad quattuor milia⁵ hominum. Consul Larisam est profectus, ibi de summa belli consultaturus. In itinere ab Cierio et Metropoli legati tradentes urbes 7 suas occurrerunt. Philippus Athamanum praecipue captivis indulgenter habitis, ut per eos conciliaret gentem, nactus spem Athamaniae potiendae exercitum eo duxit praemissis in civitates captivis. Et illi magnam auctoritatem apud populares habuerunt, clementiam erga se regis munificentiamque commemorantes, et Amynder, cuius praesentis maiestas aliquos in fide continuisset, veritus ne traderetur Philippo iam pridem hosti et Romanis merito tunc propter defectionem infensis, cum coniuge ac liberis regno excessit Ambraciamque se contulit; ita Athamania omnis in ius dicionemque

¹ traditumque ς : traditum B.² decedenti ς : descendenti B.³ maiestati *ed. Parisina* 1513: maiestatis B ς .⁴ iussus est *Ussing*: iussus B.⁵ quattuor milia *edd.*: .IIII. B: tria milia ς .

¹ The same propensity was criticized at XXXII. xxxiv. 3.
198

consul caused surrender to be offered without delay, B.C. 191 and the royal garrison was handed over and along with them the Athamanes. From Limnaeum the consul went to Pellinaeum. There the Athamanes first gave themselves up, then Philip of Megalopolis; when by chance King Philip encountered him as he was leaving the garrison, he ordered him hailed as king in mockery, and meeting him face to face, he greeted him as "brother," a jest by no means befitting his dignity.¹ Conducted then before the consul, he was ordered to be placed under guard, and a little later was sent to Rome in chains. The rest of the people of the Athamanes or of the soldiers of King Antiochus who had been in the garrisons of the towns surrendered at this period were delivered to King Philip: they numbered now about four thousand men. The consul proceeded to Larisa, there to hold a council regarding the general conduct of the war. On the way ambassadors came from Cierium and Metropolis surrendering their cities. Philip treated with especial kindness the prisoners of the Athamanes, that through them he might win over the tribe, and entertaining the hope of gaining possession of Athamania, he led his army thither, sending the captives ahead to their cities. And they had great influence with their fellow-citizens, recalling the kindness and generosity of the king towards them, and Amynder, who, had he been present, might by his majesty have kept some to their allegiance, fearing that he would be delivered to Philip, long his enemy, or to the Romans, at that time justly angered because of his desertion, left the kingdom with his wife and children and took refuge in Ambracia; thus all Athamania came under the

- A.U.C. 563 10 Philippi concessit. Consul ad reficienda maxime iumenta, quae et navigatione et postea itineribus fatigata erant, paucos Larisae moratus dies, velut renovato modica quiete exercitu Crannonem est progressus. Venienti Pharsalus et Scotusa et Pherae quaeque in eis praesidia Antiochi erant deduntur. Ex iis interrogatis, qui manere secum vellent, mille volentes Philippo tradit, ceteros inermes Demetriadem remittit. Proernam inde recepit et quae circa eam¹ castella erant. Ducere tum porro in sinum Maliacum coepit. Appropinquantibus faucibus super quas siti Thaumaci sunt, deserta urbe iuventus omnis armata silvas et itinera insedit et in agmen 13 Romanum ex superioribus locis incursavit. Consul primo misit² qui ex propinquo colloquentes detererent eos a tali furore; postquam perseverare in incepto vidit, tribuno cum duorum signorum militibus circummisso interclusit ad urbem iter armatis, 14 vacuamque eam cepit. Tum clamore ab tergo captae urbis audito refugientium undique ex silvis 15 insidiatorum caedes facta est. Ab Thaumacis altero die consul ad Spercheum amnem pervenit, inde Hypataeorum agros vastavit.

XV. Cum haec agebantur, Chalcide erat Antiochus, iam tum cernens nihil se ex Graecia praeter amoena 2 Chalcide hiberna et infames nuptias petisse. Tunc Aetolorum vana promissa incusare et Thoantem,

¹ circa eam 5: circa ea B.

² consul primo misit *Madvig*: primo missi B5: consul primo mittere M.

¹ Cf. XXXII. iv. 1-4.

² The Romans have now recovered practically all the towns taken by Antiochus, as a comparison of place-names shows.

sovereignty and power of Philip. The consul, to rest the pack-animals which had been exhausted both by the voyage and by the later marching, delayed a few days at Larisa, and with an army renewed, so to speak, by a brief rest, proceeded to Crannon. On his journey Pharsalus and Scotusa and Pherae and the garrisons of Antiochus which were in them were surrendered. Questioning them as to who were willing to stay with him, he handed over to Philip a thousand volunteers and sent the rest unarmed back to Demetrias. Next he took Proerna and the forts surrounding it. Then he began to lead the army straight towards the Malian gulf. As he drew near the pass above which Thaumaci¹ is situated, the young men left the town, armed themselves and attacked the Roman column from the higher ground. At first the consul sent men to try, by talking to them at close quarters, to deter them from so insane a course; when he saw that they persisted in their purpose, he sent a tribune with the soldiers of two maniples by a roundabout way, closed the road to the city against the soldiers, and captured the undefended town. Then when they heard the shouts from the captured city behind them there was a slaughter by the troops in ambush, as the enemy fled in all directions from the forests. From Thaumaci on the second day the consul came to the Spercheus river and then laid waste the lands of the Hypataeans.²

XV. While this was going on Antiochus was at Chalcis, now at last perceiving that he had gained nothing from Greece except a pleasant winter at Chalcis and a shameful marriage. Then he began to blame the false promises of the Aetolians and

A.U.C.
563

Hannibalem vero non ut prudentem tantum virum
sed prope vatem omnium, quae tum evenirent,
admirari. Ne tamen temere coepta segnitia insuper
everteret, nuntios in Aetoliam misit ut omni con-
tracta iuventute convenirent Lamiam;¹ et ipse eo
decem milia fere peditum ex iis, qui postea venerant
ex Asia, expleta et equites quingentos duxit. Quo²
cum aliquanto pauciores quam umquam antea con-
venissent, et principes tantummodo cum paucis
clientibus essent, atque ii dicerent omnia sedulo ab
se facta ut quam plurimos ex civitatibus suis evo-
carent; nec auctoritate nec gratia nec imperio
adversus detractantes militiam valuisse, destitutus
undique et ab suis, qui morabantur in Asia, et ab
sociis, qui ea³ in quorum spem vocaverant non
praestabant, intra saltum Thermopylarum sese
recepit. Id iugum, sicut Appennini dorso Italia
dividitur, ita mediam Graeciam dirimit. Ante
saltum Thermopylarum in septentrionem versa
Epirus et Perrhaebia et Magnesia et Thessalia est et
Phthiotae Achaei et sinus Maliacus; intra⁴ fauces
ad meridiem vergunt Aetoliae pars maior et Acarnania
et cum Locride Phocis et Boeotia adiunctaque
insula Euboea et excurrente in altum velut pro-

¹ Lamiam Duker: iam B.³ ea 5: eam B.² quo 5: quod B.⁴ intra 5: infra B.

¹ Livy here transfers to Greece a Roman institution of which there is no other trace in Greece. The precise status of these dependents is then uncertain.

² At this distance of time and space, the war with Antiochus so far seems to have the character of comic opera: the extravagant promises of Antiochus and the Aetolians; the insignificant forces; the childish hesitation and frequent

to censure Thoas, but Hannibal he admired as not only a wise man but as little less than a prophet of all that was happening. Yet, not to risk still more his rash enterprise by his own inactivity, he sent messages to Aetolia that they should assemble all their youth and meet at Lamia; and he too led there about ten thousand infantry, including replacements from those who had later arrived from Asia, and five hundred cavalry. When a somewhat smaller number than ever before had assembled there, only the chiefs, in fact, with a few clients,¹ and these explained that they had worked with all diligence to call out the largest possible numbers from their cities, but had prevailed by neither influence nor persuasion nor right of command against the shirkers of military service, then, abandoned on all sides, both by his own subjects, who were tarrying in Asia, and by his allies, who were not fulfilling the promises by the hope of which they had invited him, he retired within the pass of Thermopylae.² This ridge, just as Italy is cut in two by the backbone of the Apennines, divides Greece. In front of the pass of Thermopylae, facing the north, are Epirus and Perrhaebia and Magnesia and Thessaly and Phthiotic Achaea and the Malian gulf; within the pass towards the south lie the larger part of Aetolia and Acarnania and Phocis with Locris and Boeotia with the island of Euboea adjoining it and, on a sort of promontory running out into the sea, the

changes of plan; the feeble discipline; the burlesque scene of the marriage; the futile conquest of Thessaly; the inglorious retirement to the site of one of the most splendid events in ancient history. Rome must almost have repented of her elaborate preparations.

A.U.C.
563

munturio Attica terra et sita ab tergo¹ Pelopon-
 9 nesus. Hoc iugum ab Leucate et mari ad occidentem
 verso per Aetoliam ad alterum mare orienti obiectum
 tendens ea aspreta rupesque interiectas habet, ut
 non modo exercitus sed ne expediti quidem facile
 10 ullas ad transitum calles inveniant. Extremos ad
 orientem montes Oetam vocant, quorum quod altis-
 simum est Callidromon appellatur, in cuius valle ad
 Maliacum sinum vergente iter est non latius quam
 11 sexaginta passus. Haec una militaris via est, qua
 traduci exercitus, si non prohibeantur, possint.²
 12 Ideo Pylae et ab aliis, quia calidae aquae in ipsis
 faucibus sunt, Thermopylae locus appellatur, nobilis
 Lacedaemoniorum adversus Persas morte magis
 memorabili quam pugna.

XVI. Haudquaquam pari tum animo Antiochus
 intra portas loci eius castris positis munitionibus in-
 super saltum impediēbat et, cum duplici vallo fossaque
 2 et muro etiam, qua res postulabat, ex multa copia
 3 passim iacentium lapidum permunisset omnia, satis
 fidens numquam ea vim³ Romanum exercitum fac-
 turum, Aetolos ex quattuor milibus—tot enim
 convenerant—partim ad Heracleam praesidio ob-
 4 tinendam, quae ante ipsas fauces posita est, partim
 Hypatam mittit, et Heracleam haud dubius consulem

¹ et sita ab tergo *M. Müller*: sita ab tergo et *B.*

² possint *ε*: possent *B.* ³ uim *ε*: uiam *B.*

¹ Livy conceives of the pass as the terminus of a mountain barrier crossing Greece in a west-east direction. With reference to that barrier he places the principal geographical subdivisions. His comparison with the Apennines is graphic but misleading, since the geographical importance of the two ranges is quite unlike; the historical importance of Thermopylae is no doubt responsible. The pass begins here to figure in Roman history

Attic land, and lying behind it the Peloponnesus. B.C. 191
 This range, taking its course from Leucas and the sea on the west and continuing through Aetolia to the other sea on the east, has such thickets and scattered cliffs that not even individuals travelling light, not to mention armies, can easily find paths by which to cross. The mountains on the extreme east they call Oeta, the highest of which is named Callidromum, in the valley of which, where it slopes down to the Malian gulf, there is a road not wider than sixty paces. This is the one military road where an army can pass if there is no resistance.¹ For that reason the place is called Pylae and by others, because there are warm springs within the pass itself, Thermopylae,² and it is renowned for the death of the Lacedaemonians as they opposed the Persians, more memorable than the battle.

XVI. With a spirit wholly unlike theirs at that time, Antiochus pitched his camp within the "Gates" to the place and besides blocked the pass with fortifications, and when he had strengthened everything with a double wall and ditch and, where the situation demanded, with a rampart constructed out of the great quantity of stones which were scattered all about, confident that the Roman army would never force a passage, of the four thousand Aetolians—for so many had assembled—he sent part to hold Heraclea with a garrison, part to Hypata,³ being both certain that the consul would attack

and this geographical excursus is therefore pertinent, though not in Livy's ordinary manner.

¹ "Pylae" means literally "Gates," "Thermopylae" "Hot Gates."

³ Heraclea lay west-south-west of the pass, Hypata west-north-west.

A.U.C.
563

oppugnaturum, et iam multis nuntiantibus circa
 5 Hypatam omnia evastari. Consul depopulatus Hypatensem primo deinde Heracleensem agrum, inutili utrobique auxilio Aetolorum, in ipsis faucibus prope fontes calidarum aquarum adversus regem posuit castra. Aetolorum utraeque manus Heracleam sese
 6 incluserunt. Antiochum, cui¹ priusquam hostem cerneret satis omnia permunita et praesidiis obsaepta videbantur, timor incessit, ne quas per imminetia
 7 iuga calles inveniret ad transitum Romanus; nam et Lacedaemonios quondam ita a Persis circuitos fama erat, et nuper Philippum ab iisdem Romanis;
 8 itaque nuntium Heracleam ad Aetolos mittit, ut hanc saltem sibi operam eo bello praestarent, ut vertices circa montium occuparent obsiderentque, ne
 9 qua transire Romani possent. Hoc nuntio audito dissensio inter Aetolos orta est. Pars imperio parendum regis atque eundum censebant, pars subsistendum Heracleae ad utramque fortunam, ut, sive victus ab consule rex esset, in expedito haberent integras copias ad opem propinquis ferendam civitatibus suis, sive vinceret, ut dissipatos in fugam
 11 Romanos persequerentur. Utraque pars non mansit modo in sententia sua, sed etiam exsecuta est consilium: duo milia Heracleae substituerunt; duo trifariam divisa Callidromum et Rhoduntiam et Tichiunta—haec nomina cacuminibus sunt—occupare.

XVII. Consul postquam insessa superiora loca ab

¹ cui 5: qui B.

¹ At the Aous river (XXXII. xii. 4).

Heraclea and informed by many messengers that all the country around Hypata was being devastated. The consul, having first ravaged the fields of Hypata and then of Heraclea, the aid of the Aetolians being useless to both, encamped within the pass itself near the springs of hot water facing the king. Both contingents of Aetolians shut themselves up in Heraclea. Antiochus, to whom, before he saw the enemy, everything seemed well fortified and guarded by posts, was terror-stricken lest the Roman should find trails somewhere over the overhanging cliffs to permit their passage; for the story was that so the Lacedaemonians were once surrounded by the Persians, and recently Philip¹ by the Romans themselves; so he sent a runner to the Aetolians in Heraclea that they should render at least so much service to him in this war as to seize and hold the mountain-tops round about, that the Romans might find no way to cross. On hearing this message a disagreement arose among the Aetolians. Part thought that they should obey the king's order and go, part that they should wait at Heraclea for either turn of fortune, that, if the king were defeated by the consul, they might have fresh troops in readiness to bring aid to their cities, but if he conquered, that they might pursue the Romans when scattered in flight. Each party not only adhered to its own opinion but acted on its own decision: two thousand remained at Heraclea; two thousand, separating into three detachments, occupied Callidromum and Rhoduntia and Tichius—these are names of peaks.

XVII. When the consul saw that the higher ground was held by the Aetolians, he sent Marcus

A.U.C.
563

Aetolis vidit, M. Porcium Catonem et L. Valerium Flaccum consulares legatos cum binis milibus delectorum peditum ad castella Aetolorum, Flaccum in Rhoduntiam et Tichiunta, Catonem in Callidromum mittit.
 2 Ipse, priusquam ad hostem copias admovent, vocatos in contionem milites paucis est adlocutus. "Plerosque omnium ordinum, milites, inter vos esse video, qui in hac¹ eadem provincia T. Quincti ductu
 3 auspicioque militaveritis. Macedonico bello inexpectabilior saltus ad amnem Aoum fuit² quam hic;
 4 quippe portae sunt hae,³ et unus inter⁴ duo maria clausis omnibus velut naturalis transitus est; munitiones et locis opportunioribus tunc fuerunt et validiores impositae; exercitus hostium ille et numero maior et militum genere aliquanto melior;
 5 quippe illic Macedones Thracesque et Illyrii erant, ferocissimae omnes gentes, hic Syri et Asiatici Graeci⁵ sunt, vilissima genera hominum et servituti
 6 nata; rex ille bellicosissimus et exercitatus iam inde⁶ ab iuventute finitimis Thracum atque Illyriorum et circa omnium accolarum bellis, hic, ut aliam omnem
 7 vitam sileam, is est,⁷ qui cum ad inferendum populo Romano bellum ex Asia in Europam transisset, nihil memorabilius toto tempore hibernorum gesserit,

¹ in hac ε: hac B.² fuit ε: fui in B.³ hae ε: haec B.⁴ inter ε: in B.⁵ graeci ε: regis B.⁶ inde ed. Parisina 1513: ille Bε.⁷ is est ed. Frobeniana 1535: est B.

¹ The rank of Cato is uncertain. Cicero (*Cato maior* 32) calls him a *tribunus militaris*, but the term *consularis legatus* is frequent in Livy (e.g. XXXV. v. 1) and is more appropriate here.

Porcius Cato¹ and Lucius Valerius Flaccus, lieutenants of consular rank, with two thousand picked men each, against the strong points of the Aetolians, Flaccus to Rhoduntia and Tichius, Cato to Callidromum. He himself, before he moved his troops forward against the enemy, called the soldiers to an assembly and harangued them briefly: "I see that most among you, soldiers, are men of all ranks, who fought in this same province under the leadership and auspices of Titus Quinctius. In the Macedonian war the pass of Aous was more difficult to traverse than this; for surely this is a gate and the one natural aisle, so to speak, between the two seas, all other ways being closed;² the fortifications were then both more suitably situated and more strongly constructed; that hostile army was both larger in numbers and composed of a somewhat better grade of soldiers; there, as you know, there were Macedonians and Thracians and Illyrians, all most warlike nations, here Syrians and Asiatic Greeks, the most worthless peoples among mankind and born for slavery; that king was most devoted to war and trained from youth up in wars with the neighbouring Thracians and Illyrians and all the inhabitants round about; here, to pass over in silence all the rest of his career, is one who, after crossing from Asia to Europe to make war upon the Roman people, did nothing more worthy of note during the whole season of the winter than for love's sake to marry a woman

¹ The speaker seems to mean that Thermopylae was the only north-south gateway which could be found between the Aegean sea to the east and the Ionian sea to the west. For rhetorical reasons he regards the pass as a gateway that can be forced open rather than as a barrier that can be kept closed.

A.U.C.
563

quam quod amoris causa ex domo privata et obscuri
etiam inter populares generis uxorem duxit, et novus
8 maritus, velut saginatus nuptialibus cenis, ad pugnam
processit. Summa virium speique eius in Aetolis
fuit, gente vanissima et ingratisissima, ut vos prius
9 experti estis, nunc Antiochus experitur. Nam nec
venerunt frequentes, nec contineri in castris po-
tuerunt, et in seditione ipsi inter sese sunt et, cum
Hypatam tuendam Heracleamque depoposcissent,
neutram tutati¹ refugerunt in iuga montium, pars
10 Heracleae incluserunt sese. Rex ipse confessus
nusquam aequo campo non modo congredi se ad
pugnam audere, sed ne castra quidem in aperto
ponere, relictis omni ante se regione ea, quam se
nobis ac Philippo ademisse gloriabatur, condidit se²
intra rupes, ne ante fauces quidem saltus, ut quondam
11 Lacedaemonios fama est, sed intra penitus retractis
castris; quod quantum interest ad timorem osten-
dendum, an muris urbis alicuius obsidendum sese
12 incluserit? Sed neque Antiochum tuebuntur an-
gustiae, nec Aetolos vertices illi quos ceperunt.
Satis undique provisum atque praecautum est, ne
quid adversus vos in pugna praeter hostis esset.
13 Illud proponere animo vestro debetis, non vos pro
Graeciae libertate tantum dimicare, quamquam is
quoque egregius titulus esset, liberatam³ a Philippo
ante nunc ab Aetolis et ab Antiocho liberare, neque
ea tantum in praemium vestrum cessura, quae nunc
14 in regis⁴ castris sunt, sed illum quoque omnem

¹ neutram tutati ς : neutra mutati B.² condidit se ς : condidisse B.³ liberatam ς : liberam B. ⁴ regis ς : regis B.¹ I.e., Thessaly; in xv. 7 above Livy speaks of Thessaly as lying "in front of" (*ante*) Thermopylae.

from a private home, of a family obscure and even B.C. 191
common, and the new bridegroom, stuffed, let me
say, with wedding feasts, went forth to battle. The
substance of his strength and hope is in the Aetolians,
a most boastful and ungrateful race, as you have
learned before this and as Antiochus is now learning.
For neither did they come in great numbers nor
could they be kept in camp, and they are even at
odds with one another, and although they had
demanded the guardianship of Hypata and Heraclea,
they defended neither, but some fled to the moun-
tain-tops and some shut themselves up in Heraclea.
The king himself, confessing that he not only does
not dare to trust himself to battle on level ground
anywhere but does not even venture to encamp in
the open, abandoning all that country in front of him¹
which he boasted he had taken from us and from Philip,
has shut himself up within the cliffs, not even placing
his camp in front of the entrance to the pass, as they
say the Spartans once did, but withdrawing it deep
inside; and how does this differ, as an exhibition
of fear, from shutting himself up to be besieged
within the walls of some city? But neither the
narrow defile will protect Antiochus nor the heights
which they have seized the Aetolians. Sufficient
care and precaution have been taken on every side
to prevent your facing any peril except the enemy.
You should hold this thought before your minds,
that you are fighting not merely for the liberty of
Greece, although this is a noble cause to defend, but to
set free a people, formerly freed from Philip, now from
the Aetolians and Antiochus, nor will your reward
consist only of those things which are in the king's
camp, but all that equipment too which is daily

A.U.C.
563

apparatum, qui in dies ab Epheso expectatur, praedae futurum, Asiam deinde Syriamque et omnia usque ad ortum solis ditissima regna Romano imperio
15 aperturos. Quid deinde ¹ aberit quin ab Gadibus ad mare rubrum Oceano fines terminemus, qui orbem terrarum amplexu finit, et omne humanum genus
16 secundum deos nomen Romanum veneretur? In haec tanta praemia dignos parate animos, ut crastino die bene iuvantibus diis acie decernamus."

XVIII. Ab hac contione dimissi milites, priusquam corpora curarent, arma telaque ² parant. Luce prima signo pugnae proposito instruit aciem consul,
2 arta fronte, ad naturam et angustias loci. Rex, postquam signa hostium conspexit, et ipse copias educit. Levis armaturae partem ante vallum in primo locavit, tum Macedonum robur, quos sarisophorus appellabant, velut firmamentum circa ipsas
3 munitiones constituit. His ab sinistro cornu iaculatorum sagittariorumque et funditorum manum sub ipsis radicibus montis posuit, ut ex altiore loco nuda
4 latera hostium incesserent. Ab dextro Macedonibus ad ipsum munimentorum finem, qua ³ loca usque ad mare invia palustri limo et voraginibus claudunt, elephantos cum adsueto praesidio posuit, post eos equites, tum modico intervallo relicto ceteras copias

¹ deinde ς : inde *B*.

² arma telaque ς : arma tela *B*.

³ qua ς : quae *B*.

¹ Appian and Plutarch report no such speech, and it was probably not found in Polybius.

² The successors of Alexander all used the phalanx formation, which in this case was presumably made up of Syrians: cf. XXXVII. xi. 1.

expected from Ephesus will be booty, and there-
after Asia and Syria and the treasure-laden realms
right up to the sunrise will be opened to Roman
rule. What then will be lacking, that we shall not
bound our empire by the ocean from Gades to the
Red Sea, that ocean which holds the earth in its
embrace, and that the whole human race will not
reverence the Roman name next after the gods?
Make your minds ready to deserve such great re-
wards, that to-morrow with the good aid of the gods
we may fight it out in battle-line."¹

XVIII. After this assembly the soldiers were dismissed, and before they saw to their bodily needs they made ready their armour and arms. At day-break the battle-signal was displayed and the consul deployed his forces on a narrow front, according to the nature and limits of the position. When the king saw the standards of the enemy he too led out his troops. Part of his light-armed troops he placed before the rampart in the front line, then he drew up the main body of the Macedonians,² whom they call *sarisophori*,³ as a bulwark around the fortification itself. Next to them on the left flank he placed a detachment of dart-throwers and archers and slingers at the very base of the mountain, to harass the exposed flank of the enemy from the higher ground. On the right, next to the Macedonians, at the very end of the fortification, where the ground, impassable as far as the sea, closed it in with swampy mud and quicksands, he stationed the elephants with their usual guard and behind them the cavalry; then, a short distance to the rear, the rest of his troops in

³ Literally, "lancers," armed with the heavy Macedonian *sarisa*.

A.U.C.
563

5 in secunda acie. Macedones pro¹ vallo locati primo
facile sustinebant Romanos, temptantes ab omni
parte aditus, multum adiuvantibus, qui ex loco
superiore fundis velut nimum glandes et sagittas
6 simul ac iacula ingerebant; deinde, ut maior nec
iam toleranda vis hostium inferebat se, pulsus loco
intra munimenta subductis ordinibus concesserunt;
inde ex vallo prope alterum vallum hastis prae se
7 obiectis fecerunt. Et ita modica altitudo valli erat,
ut et locum superiorem suis ad pugnandum praeberet,
et propter longitudinem hastarum subiectum haberet
8 hostem. Multi temere subeuntes vallum transfixi
sunt; et aut incepto irritum recessissent aut plures
cecidissent,² ni M. Porcius ab iugo Callidromi deiectis
inde Aetolis et magna ex parte caesis—incautos
enim et plerosque sopitos oppresserat—super im-
minentem castris collem apparuisset.

XIX. Flacco non eadem fortuna ad Tichium et
Rhoduntiam, nequiquam subire ad ea castella conato,
2 fuerat. Macedones quique alii in castris regibus
erant³ primo, dum procul nihil aliud quam turba et
agmen apparebat, Aetolos credere visa procul pugna
3 subsidio venire; ceterum, ut primum signaque et
arma ex propinquo cognita errorem⁴ aperuerunt,

¹ pro 5: prae B.

² cecidissent 5: occiderunt B.

³ regibus erant *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: regis erant B: fuerant
regibus M: fuerant regis 5.

⁴ cognita errorem 5: cognitae prore B.

¹ Plutarch (*Cato* xiii. ff.) gives a much more picturesque
account of this episode, with greater emphasis upon Cato.

the second line. The Macedonians standing in front B.C. 191
of the rampart at first easily held off the Romans,
who were trying the approaches from every direc-
tion, with much assistance from those who from the
higher ground were hurling a veritable cloud of
missiles from their slings as well as darts and arrows
at the same time; then, as a greater and more
irresistible pressure was placed upon them by the
enemy, driven from their places they gradually
withdrew their ranks and fell back inside the forti-
fications; thence from the rampart they almost made
another rampart of the spears held out in front of
them. And the height of the rampart was so moderate
that it both offered its defenders higher ground from
which to fight and held the enemy within thrusting-
distance below them on account of the length of
the spears. Many who rashly drew near the rampart
were run through; and either they would have with-
drawn with their task unaccomplished or more would
have perished had not Marcus Porcius, having dis-
lodged the Aetolians from the heights of Calli-
dromum and killed a large part of them—for he had
caught them off their guard and many of them
asleep—shown himself on the hill which overlooked
the camp.¹

XIX. Flaccus did not enjoy the same fortune at
Tichius and Rhoduntia, having tried in vain to get
up to those forts. The Macedonians and the others
who were in the king's camp at first, while there
was nothing visible in the distance except a crowd
and a column, believed that the Aetolians had seen
the battle from afar and were coming to their assist-
ance; but as soon as the standards and arms, recog-
nized close at hand, revealed their mistake, such

A.U.C.
563

tantus repente pavor omnes cepit ut abiectis armis
 4 fugerent. Et munimenta sequentes impedierunt, et ¹
 angustiae vallis, per quam sequendi erant, et maxime
 omnium quod elephantis novissimi agminis erant,
 quos pedes aegre praeterire, eques nullo poterat
 modo timentibus equis tumultumque inter se
 5 maiorem quam in proelio edentibus; aliquantum
 temporis et direptio castrorum tenuit; Scarpheam
 6 tamen eo die consecuti sunt hostem. Multis in ipso
 itinere caesis captisque, non equis virisque tantum,
 sed etiam elephantis, quos capere non potuerant,²
 7 interfectis, in castra reverterunt; quae temptata eo
 die inter ipsum pugnae tempus ab Aetolis, Hera-
 cleam obtinentibus praesidio, sine ullo haud parum
 8 audacis incepti effectu fuerant. Consul noctis inse-
 quentis tertia vigilia praemisso equitatu ad perse-
 quendum hostem, signa legionum luce prima movit.
 9 Aliquantum viae praeceperat rex, ut qui non ante
 quam Elatiae ab effuso³ constiterit cursu; ubi
 primum reliquiis⁴ pugnaeque et fugae collectis, cum
 perexigua⁵ manu semiermum militum Chalcidem se
 10 recepit. Romanus equitatus ipsum quidem regem
 Elatiae adsecutus non est; magnam partem agminis
 aut lassitudine subsistentes aut errore, ut qui sine
 ducibus per ignota itinera fugerent, dissipatos op-
 11 presserunt; nec praeter quingentos, qui circa regem
 fuerunt, ex toto exercitu quisquam effugit, etiam ex

¹ et 5: om. B. ² potuerant 5: poterant B.³ ab effuso ed. Frobeniana 1535: a confuso B5.⁴ reliquiis 5: reliquis B.⁵ perexigua 5: rex exigua B.

terror all at once seized them that they threw away ^{B.C. 191}
 their arms and fled. Both the walls and the narrow-
 ness of the valley through which they had to pass
 hindered the pursuers, and most of all the fact that
 the elephants brought up the rear, and these the
 infantry could pass only with difficulty and the cavalry
 not at all, since the horses were frightened and
 caused greater disturbance in their own ranks than
 in the battle; some time was also consumed in the
 plundering of the camp; nevertheless, they pursued
 the enemy that day as far as Scarphea. They not
 only killed and captured many, men and horses, on
 the way, but also killed the elephants which they
 could not take, and returned to camp; this had been
 attacked during the time the battle was going on
 by the Aetolians who were holding Heraclea with
 their garrison, but without any results commensurate
 with the considerable boldness of the undertaking.
 During the third watch of the next night the consul
 sent on the cavalry to pursue the enemy and at
 daybreak advanced the legionary standards. The king
 had gone a considerable distance ahead, inasmuch as
 he had not ceased his headlong flight until he reached
 Elatia; there, as soon as he collected the scanty
 leavings of the battle and the flight, with a little
 band of half-armed men he withdrew to Chalcis.
 The Roman cavalry did not overtake the king himself
 at Elatia; but a great part of the column, stopping
 either from weariness or because they had lost their
 way, as was natural for men fleeing without guides
 over strange roads, was dispersed and destroyed;
 nor did anyone out of the whole army escape with
 the exception of five hundred who were with the
 king, a small number even out of the ten thousand

A.U.C.
663

decem milibus militum, quos¹ Polybio auctore traiecisce secum regem in Graeciam scripsimus, 12 exiguus numerus; quid,² si Antiati Valerio credamus sexaginta milia militum fuisse in regio exercitu scribenti, quadraginta inde milia cecidisse, supra quinque milia capta cum signis militaribus ducentis triginta? Romanorum centum quinquaginta in ipso certamine pugnae, ab incursu Aetolorum se tuentes non plus quinquaginta interfecti sunt.

XX. Consule per Phocidem et Boeotiam exercitum ducente consciae defectionis civitates cum velamentis ante portas stabant metu, ne hostiliter diriperentur. 2 Ceterum per omnes dies haud secus quam in pacato³ agro sine vexatione ullius rei agmen processit, donec 3 in agrum Coroneum ventum est. Ibi statua regis Antiochi posita in templo Minervae Itoniae⁴ iram accendit, permissumque militi est ut circumiectum templo agrum popularetur; dein cogitatio animum subit, cum communi decreto Boeotorum posita esset statua, indignum esse in unum Coronensem agrum 4 saevire. Revocato extemplo milite finis populandi factus; castigati tantum verbis Boeoti ob ingratum in tantis tamque recentibus beneficiis animum erga Romanos.

5 Inter ipsum pugnae tempus decem naves regiae cum praefecto Isidoro ad Thronium in sinu Maliaco stabant. Eo gravis vulneribus Alexander Acarnan, nuntius adversae pugnae, cum perfugisset, trepidae

¹ quos 5: quod B.² quid 5: quod B.³ in pacato *edd. vet.*: pacato B.⁴ Itoniae J. F. Gronovius: itonaeae M: om. B5.

¹ Cf. XXXV. xliii. 6. Livy does not take into account the replacements who came over later (xv. 3 above.)

soldiers who, as I have written¹ on the authority of B.O. 191 Polybius, the king had brought with him to Greece; what if we were to believe Valerius Antias, who writes that there were sixty thousand men in the king's army, that forty thousand of them were killed and more than five thousand captured along with two hundred thirty military standards. One hundred fifty Romans perished in the actual shock of the battle, and from those who defended themselves against the attack of the Aetolians not more than fifty were killed.

XX. As the consul led the army through Phocis and Boeotia, the citizens, conscious of their rebellion, were standing before the gates holding badges of supplication, in fear that they would be plundered like enemies. But during all these days the column marched just as if they were passing through a peaceful country, doing no injury to anyone, until they came to the territory of Coronea. There a statue of King Antiochus, set up in the temple of Athena Itonia, enkindled the consul's wrath, and the soldiers were permitted to devastate the land around the temple; then the thought came to his mind that since the statue had been set up by a general decree of the Boeotians it was improper to vent his wrath on the territory of Coronea alone. The soldiers were at once recalled and an end put to the pillaging; the Boeotians received only a verbal reproof for their ingratitude to the Romans after such notable and recent acts of kindness.

Just at the time of the battle ten of the king's ships with the prefect Isidorus were moored at Thronium in the Malian gulf. Alexander the Acarnanian, arriving there sorely wounded, with news of

A.U.C.
563

inde recenti terrore naves Cenaeum Euboeae petierunt. Ibi mortuus sepultusque Alexander. Tres, quae ex Asia profectae eundem portum tenuerant, naves audita exercitus clade Ephesum redierunt. Isidorus ab Cenaeo Demetriadem, si forte eo deferret fuga regem, traiecit. Per eosdem dies A. Atilius praefectus Romanae classis magnos regiones commeatus iam fretum, quod ad Andrum insulam est, praeter vectos excepit; alias mersit, alias cepit naves; quae novissimi agminis erant cursum in Asiam verterunt. Atilius Piraeum unde profectus erat cum agmine captivarum navium revector magnam vim frumenti et Atheniensibus et aliis eiusdem regionis sociis divisit.

XXI. Antiochus sub adventum consulis a Chalcide profectus Tenum primo tenuit, inde Ephesum transmisit. Consuli Chalcidem venienti portae patuerunt, cum appropinquante eo Aristoteles praefectus regis urbe excessisset. Et ceterae urbes in Euboea sine certamine traditae; post paucosque dies omnibus perpacatis sine ullius noxa urbis exercitus Thermopylas reductus, multo¹ modestia post victoriam quam

¹ multo 5: multa B.

¹ By this Livy probably means the narrow stretch of water between Andros and Euboea.

² In the light of the narrative that has just preceded the leisurely progress of the consul after the battle is hard to explain or defend. A more relentless pursuit by the cavalry, reinforced with light infantry, and liaison with the fleet of Atilius, which was operating off the eastern coast, might easily have resulted in the capture of the king and the final termination of the war. Instead of following the coast route after the battle, Glabrio marched well inland, with no apparent motive, and the time he thus consumed (note especially *per omnes dies* in xx. 1 above) gave the king the opportunity to reach Chalcis, reorganize the remnant of his forces, and

the defeat, the ships at once made for Cenaeum in Euboea, panic-stricken with fear. There Alexander died and was buried. Three ships which had set out from Asia and put in to the same harbour, learning of the slaughter of the army, returned to Ephesus. Isidorus from Cenaeum crossed to Demetrias, on the chance that the flight had taken the king that way. About this time Aulus Atilius, the commander of the Roman fleet, fell in with a great quantity of stores belonging to the king which had now crossed the strait¹ which lies near the island of Andros; some ships he sank, others he captured; those which were in the rear turned their course towards Asia. Atilius with his convoy of captured ships returned to Piraeus whence he had sailed, and distributed a great quantity of grain among both the Athenians and the other allies in the same vicinity.

XXI. Antiochus, at the approach of the consul,² left Chalcis and first proceeded to Tenos, then crossed to Ephesus. When the consul arrived at Chalcis the gates stood open, since at his approach Aristoteles, the king's prefect, had left the city. And the other cities of Euboea were given up without a struggle; and a few days later everything was quiet and the army was led back to Thermopylae doing no injury to any city, their moderate conduct after the victory being far more worthy of praise

make good his escape. We should remember that communications were slow and uncertain for both sides and information scanty and unreliable. It should also be pointed out that Livy shows no sign that he considers Acilius delinquent in any way, and there is no mention of any criticism on this ground a year later, when he was sharply criticized for other things (XXXVII. lvii. 10-15).

A.U.O.
863

4 ipsa victoria laudabilior. Inde consul M. Catonem,
per quem quae gesta essent senatus populusque Ro-
5 manus haud dubio auctore sciret, Romam misit. Is a
Creusa—Thespiensium emporium est, in intimo sinu
Corinthiaco retractum—Patras Achaiae petit; a
Patris Corcyram usque Aetoliae atque Acarnaniae
littora legit, atque ita ad Hydruntum Italiae traicit.
6 Quinto die inde pedestri itinere Romam ingenti cursu
pervenit. Ante lucem ingressus urbem a porta ad
7 praetorem M. Iunium iter intendit. Is prima luce in
senatum vocavit; quo L. Cornelius Scipio, aliquot
diebus ante a consule dimissus, cum adveniens
audisset praegressum Catonem in senatu esse, super-
8 venit exponenti quae gesta essent. Duo inde legati
iussu senatus in contionem sunt producti, atque ibi
eadem quae in senatu de rebus in Aetolia gestis
9 exposuerunt. Supplicatio in triduum decreta est et
ut quadraginta hostiis maioribus praetor, quibus diis
10 ei videretur, sacrificaret. Per eosdem dies et M.
Fulvius Nobilior, qui biennio ante praetor in His-
paniam erat profectus, ovans urbem est ingressus;
11 argenti bigati prae se tulit centum triginta milia et

¹ These details might almost have been taken from some eulogistic biography (or autobiography?) of Cato: cf. the note to XXXIV. xxi. 8. The account in Plutarch (*Cato* xiv) differs in several respects. According to it Cato was sent immediately after the battle, that he might be the first to report his own achievements; the route was different but the five-day land journey is the same; there is no mention of Scipio.

² Scipio had been defeated in the consular election for this year (XXXV. xxiv. 4) but was elected for the following year (xl. 9 below). There is no other reference to his presence in

than the actual victory. Then the consul sent B.C. 191
Marcus Cato to Rome, that from him, a thoroughly
trustworthy source, the senate and the Roman
people might learn what had happened. From
Creusa—this is the trading-port of the Thespians,
lying deep in the Corinthian gulf—he made for
Patrae in Achaëa; from Patrae he skirted the shores
of Aetolia and Acarnania right up to Corcyra and
thence crossed to Hydruntum in Italy. On the fifth
day from there in hurried progress by land he arrived
in Rome. Entering the City before daybreak he went
from the gate straight to the praetor Marcus Junius.¹
Junius at daybreak summoned the senate; Lucius
Cornelius Scipio,² who had been sent on some days
before by the consul, learning on his arrival that
Cato had reached there first and was in the senate,
came in while he was recounting what had hap-
pened. Then the two legates by order of the senate
were taken before the assembly and there told the
same story as in the senate about the events in
Aetolia. A period of thanksgiving for three days
was proclaimed and the praetor was ordered to
sacrifice forty full-grown victims to whatever gods
he saw fit. About the same time too Marcus
Fulvius Nobilior,³ who two years before had as
praetor set out for Spain, entered the City in ovation;
he carried in his procession one hundred and thirty
thousand silver coins stamped with the two-horse
chariot, and in addition to the minted money twelve

Greece, and Livy may have confused his visit to Rome with one of Publius Scipio to announce a victory in Gaul (xxxix. 4 below).

³ For his appointment to Spain see XXXIV. lv. 6; cf. also xxxix. 1 below.

A.U.C.
563

extra numeratum duodecim milia pondo argenti, auri pondo centum viginti septem.

XXII. Acilius consul ab Thermopylis Heracleam ad Aetolos praemisit ut tunc saltem, experti regiam vanitatem, resipiscerent traditaque Heraclea cogitarent de petenda ab senatu seu furoris sui seu erroris venia. Et ceteras Graeciae civitates defecisse eo bello ab optime meritis Romanis; sed quia post fugam regis, cuius fiducia officio decessissent,¹ non addidissent pertinaciam culpae, in fidem receptas esse; Aetolos quoque, quamquam non secuti sint regem, sed accersierint, et duces² belli, non socii fuerint, si paenitere possint, posse et incolumes esse. Ad ea cum pacati nihil responderetur, appareretque armis rem gerendam et rege superato bellum Aetolicum integrum restare, castra ab Thermopylis ad Heracleam movit, eoque ipso die, ut situm nosceret urbis, ab omni parte equo moenia est circumvectus. Heraclea sita est in radicibus Oetae montis, ipsa in campo, arcem imminemtem loco alto et undique praecipiti habet. Contemplatus omnia quae noscenda erant, quattuor simul locis aggredi urbem constituit. A flumine Asopo, qua et gymnasium est, L. Valerium operibus atque oppugnationi praeposuit; partem extra muros, quae³ frequentius prope quam in urbe habitabatur, Ti. Sempronio Longo oppugnandam dedit; e regione sinus Maliaci,

¹ decessissent 5: decessisset B.

² et duces 5: duces B.

³ partem extra muros quae *Madvig*: arcem extra muros quae *M*: om. B5.

thousand pounds of silver and one hundred and twenty-seven pounds of gold. B.C. 191

XXII. The consul Acilius dispatched agents from Thermopylae to the Aetolians at Heraclea that then at least, having made trial of the king's unreliability, they might regain their senses, surrender Heraclea, and take counsel about asking pardon from the senate for their madness or, if they preferred, their mistake. Other states of Greece too in that war, he said, had revolted from the Romans who deserved so well of them, but because, after the flight of the king, from confidence in whom they had thrown off their allegiance, they had not added stubbornness to their fault, they had been received into alliance; the Aetolians also, though they had not followed the king but had summoned him, and had been the leaders in the war and not allies, if they could repent, could likewise be saved. When they gave no pacific reply to this, and it was evident that he must have recourse to arms, and that after the defeat of the king the Aetolian war remained as before, he moved camp from Thermopylae to Heraclea, and on the same day, to reconnoitre the site of the city, he rode on horseback around the walls on every side. Heraclea is situated at the foot of Mount Oeta, and the town proper was in a plain, with a citadel that overhung it, in a position lofty and steep on every side. In the direction of the Asopus river, where there is also a gymnasium, he put Lucius Valerius in charge of the works and the assault; the quarters outside the walls, which were almost more densely populated than the city itself, he gave to Tiberius Sempronius Longus to attack; on the side towards the Malian gulf, which had a

A.U.C.
563

quae¹ aditum haud facilem pars habebat, M. Baebium, ab altero amniculo² quem Melana vocant, adversus Dianae templum Ap. Claudium opposuit.
 9 Horum magno certamine intra paucos dies tures arietesque et alius omnis apparatus oppugnandarum
 10 urbium perficitur. Et cum ager Heracleensis paluster omnis frequensque proceris arboribus benigne ad omne genus operum materiam suppeditabat, tum,
 11 quia refugerant intra moenia Aetoli, deserta quae in vestibulo urbis erant, tecta in varios usus non tigna modo et tabulas sed laterem quoque et caementa et saxa variae magnitudinis praebebant.

XXIII. Et Romani quidem operibus magis quam armis urbem oppugnabant, Aetoli contra armis se² tuebantur. Nam cum ariete quaterentur muri, non laqueis, ut solet,³ exceptos declinabant ictus, sed armati frequentes erumpebant,⁴ quidam ignes etiam,³ quos aggeribus inicerent, ferebant. Fornices quoque in muro erant apti ad excurrendum,⁵ et ipsi, cum prodirutis reficerent muros, crebriores eos ut pluribus⁴ erumperetur in hostem locis faciebant. Hoc primis diebus, dum integrae vires erant, et frequentes et impigre⁶ fecerunt; in dies deinde pauciores et⁵ segnius. Etenim cum multis urgerentur rebus,

¹ e regione sinus Maliaci quae *Weissenborn*: et regione mella quoque *B*: a sino maliaco quae *M*: et regione malea quoque *ϛ*.

² amniculo *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: angulo *Bϛ*: amnis latere *M*.

³ solet *ϛ*: solent *BM*.

⁴ erumpebant *J. F. Gronovius*: om. *B*.

⁵ excurrendum *ϛ*: currendum *B*.

⁶ et impigre *ϛ*: inpigre *B*.

¹ These zones are, respectively, on the east, south-east (?), north-east and west sides of the city.

rather difficult approach, he placed Marcus Baebius, B.C. 191 and at another little stream, which they call Melas, facing the temple of Artemis, he stationed Appius Claudius.¹ With great rivalry on their part, within a few days towers and battering-rams and all the other engines for attacking cities were prepared. And while the lands of Heraclea, all marshy and abounding in tall trees, made generous provision of materials for every kind of device, then too, because the Aetolians had taken refuge within the walls, the deserted houses in the entrance to the city offered them, for their various needs, not only beams and planks but brick and cement and stones of different sizes.

XXIII. And the Romans for their part conducted the siege with engines rather than by personal combat; the Aetolians, on the contrary, defended themselves by arms. For when the battering-rams shook the walls they did not, in the usual fashion, try to ward off the blows by catching the rams in nooses,² but made frequent armed sallies, and some carried firebrands also, to throw against the works. There were also arches in the walls suitable for sallies, and they themselves, as they built new walls to replace those that were destroyed, left more numerous openings to permit sallies against the enemy in more directions. In the early days, while they were fresh in strength, they did this both frequently and stoutly; day by day then their attacks grew fewer and more half-hearted. For although many difficulties beset them, nothing wore

² A recognized device for defence against battering-rams was to slip nooses over their heads and so dismount the rams or at least divert their blows.

A.T.C.
563

4.17.C.
563
nulla eos res aeque ac vigiliae conficiebant, Romanis
in magna copia militum succedentibus aliis in
stationem aliorum, Aetolos propter paucitatem eos-
dem dies noctesque adsiduo labore urente. Per
quattuor et viginti dies, ita ut nullum tempus vacuum
dimicatione esset, adversus quattuor e partibus simul
oppugnantem hostem nocturnus diurno continuatus
labor est. Cum fatigatos iam Aetolos sciret consul
et ex spatio¹ temporis et quod ita transfugae
adfirmabant, tale consilium init. Media nocte
receptui signum dedit et ab oppugnatione simul
milites omnes deductos usque ad diei tertiam horam
quietos in castris tenuit; inde coepta oppugnatio ad
mediam rursus noctem perducta est,² intermissa
deinde usque ad tertiam diei horam. Fatigationem
rati esse causam Aetoli non continuandae oppug-
nationis, quae et ipsos adfecerat, ubi Romanis datum
receptui signum esset, velut ipsi quoque³ revocati
pro se quisque ex stationibus decedebant, nec ante
tertiam diei horam armati in muris apparebant.

XXIV. Consul cum nocte media intermisisset
oppugnationem, quarta vigilia rursus ab tribus
partibus summa vi adgressus, ab una Ti.⁴ Sem-
pronium tenere intentos milites signumque expectare
iussit, ad ea⁵ in nocturno tumultu, unde clamor
exaudiretur, haud dubie ratus hostes concursuros.
Aetoli pars sopiti adfecta labore ac vigiliis corpora ex
somno moliebantur, pars vigilantes adhuc ad⁶
strepitum pugnantium in tenebris currunt. Hostes

¹ ex spatio *Novak*: expectatio *B*: expectatione *Γ*.

² perducta est *Γ*: perductae sunt *B*.

³ ipsi quoque *Γ*: spe hac *B*.

⁴ Ti. *Sigonius*: t. *M*: om. *BΓ*.

⁵ ea *Γ*: eam *B*.

⁶ adhuc ad *Gelenius*: ad hunc *B*.

them down so much as loss of sleep; the Romans, B.C. 191
with their wealth of men, sent relief after relief
to the posts, while the Aetolians, on account of
their small number, were tortured by constant toil
falling to the same men day and night. For four-
and-twenty days, so that no time was free from
fighting, against an enemy attacking from four sides
at once, nightly toil was joined to daily labour.
When the consul saw that the Aetolians were now
weary, judging both by the lapse of time and by
the testimony of deserters, he formed the following
plan. At midnight he gave the signal for the recall,
and withdrawing all his men from the works, until
the third hour of the day he kept them quiet in
camp; then the siege was begun and continued
again until midnight and then interrupted until the
third hour of the day. The Aetolians thought that
the cause of interrupting operations was weariness,
which had troubled them too, and when the recall
was sounded for the Romans, as if they too were
summoned, each for himself left his post, nor did
they show themselves in arms on the walls until the
third hour of the day.

XXIV. When the consul had stopped the siege at
midnight, during the fourth watch he again launched
a furious attack from three sides, ordering Tiberius
Sempronius on one side to hold his men alert and
await orders, thinking that without doubt, in a
night alarm, the enemy would rush to the point from
which the noise was heard. Part of the Aetolians
who had been sleeping were rousing themselves,
exhausted by toil and loss of sleep, part, who were
still awake, rushed in the dark towards the shouts
of the fighters. Some of the enemy were trying to

A.U.C.
563

- partim per ruinas iacentis muri transcendere conantur, partim scalis ascensus temptant, adversus quos undique ad opem ferendam concurrunt Aetoli.
- 5 Pars una, in qua aedificia extra urbem erant, neque defenditur neque oppugnatur; sed qui oppugnarent intenti signum expectabant; defensor nemo aderat.
- 6 Iam dilucescebat, cum signum consul dedit; et sine ullo certamine partim per semirutos, partim scalis¹ integros muros transcendere. Simul clamor, index capti oppidi, est exauditus; undique Aetoli desertis
- 7 stationibus in arcem fugiunt. Oppidum victores permissu consulis diripiunt, non tam ab ira nec ab odio quam ut miles, coercitus in tot receptis ex potestate hostium urbibus, aliquo tandem loco
- 8 fructum victoriae sentiret. Revocatos inde a medio ferme die milites cum in duas divisisset partes, unam radicibus montium circumduci ad rupem iussit, quae fastigio altitudinis par,² media valle velut
- 9 abrupta erat ab arce; sed adeo prope geminata cacumina eorum montium sunt, ut ex vertice altero conici tela in arcem possint;³ cum dimidia parte militum consul ab urbe escensurus⁴ in arcem signum ab iis qui ab tergo in rupem evasuri erant expectabat.
- 10 Non tulere qui in arce erant Aetoli primum eorum qui rupem ceperant clamorem, deinde impetum ab urbe Romanorum et fractis⁵ iam animis et nulla ibi praeparata re ad obsidionem diutius tolerandam,

¹ partim per semirutos, partim scalis *Weissenborn*: partim scalis *B*: partim per erutos partim scalis *M*.

² par ς : pars *B*.

³ possint ς : possent *BM*.

⁴ consul ab urbe escensurus *J. F. Gronovius*: consul ab urbe descensurus *B* ς : excessurus consul ab urbe *M*.

⁵ et fractis *ed. Parisina* 1513: ex fractis *B*: effractis ς .

climb over the fallen ruins of the wall, some attempt- B.C. 191
ing to get up by means of ladders, and against them the Aetolians rushed from all sides to bring aid. The one side, on which there were buildings outside the city, was neither defended nor attacked; but men to attack it were waiting, eager for the signal; there was no one to defend it. It was now growing light when the consul gave the signal; and without any opposition some climbed over the half-fallen walls, others with ladders surmounted the uninjured sections. At the same moment the shout which testifies that a city has been taken was heard; the Aetolians from all sides left their posts and fled to the citadel. The victors, with the permission of the consul, plundered the city, not so much from any wrath or hatred as that the soldiers, restrained in the case of so many cities recovered from the enemy, might in some place at last see the fruits of victory. The soldiers were then recalled at about midday, and when he had divided them into two parts he ordered one to be led around at the foot of the mountain to a cliff which, being about its equal in height, was cut off from the citadel by, as it were, a valley lying between them; but the summits of the two heights were so close together that from the other crest weapons could be hurled into the citadel; with the other half of the troops the consul intended to climb the citadel from the town and was waiting for the signal from those who were to come out on the cliff from the rear. The Aetolians who were in the citadel did not endure first the shout of the party which had taken the cliff, then the attack of the Romans from the town, being now both broken in spirit and unprepared with anything necessary to

A.U.C.
563

- 11 utpote congregatis¹ feminis puerisque et imbelli alia turba in arcem, quae vix capere, nedum tueri multitudinem tantam posset. Itaque ad primum impetum
12 abiectis armis dediderunt sese. Traditus² inter ceteros princeps Aetolorum Damocritus est, qui principio belli decretum Aetolorum, quo accersendum Antiochum censuerant, T. Quinctio poscenti responderat, in Italia daturum, cum castra ibi Aetoli posuissent. Ob eam ferociam maius victoribus gaudium traditus fuit.

XXV. Eodem tempore, quo Romani Heracleam, Philippus Lamiam ex composito oppugnabat,³ circa Thermopylas cum consule redeunte ex Boeotia, ut victoriam ipsi populoque Romano gratularetur excusaretque, quod morbo impeditus bello non interfuisset, congressus. Inde diversi ad duas simul
3 oppugnandas urbes profecti. Intersunt septem ferme milia passuum; et quia Lamia cum⁴ posita in tumulto est, tum regionem maxime Oetae spectat, oppido quam breve intervallum videtur, et omnia in
4 conspectu sunt. Cum enixe, velut proposito certamine, Romani Macedonesque diem ac noctem aut in operibus aut in proeliis essent, hoc maior difficultas Macedonibus erat, quod Romani aggere et vineis et omnibus supra terram operibus, subter Macedones

¹ congregatis ς : congregandis B.

² traditus *edd. vet.*: traditum B.

³ oppugnabat ς : oppugnabant BM.

⁴ cum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: om. B.

¹ Cf. XXXV. xxxiii. 9-10, and for his death, XXXVII. xlv. 5.

resist any longer an attack there, especially since B.C. 191 the women and children and the other non-combatants had collected in the citadel, which could scarce hold the defenders and still less protect so great a crowd. And so at the first assault they threw down their arms and surrendered. Among those thus given up was Damocritus, the chief of the Aetolians, who, at the beginning of hostilities, when Titus Quinctius had asked for the decree of the Aetolians by which they had voted to invite Antiochus, had replied that he would give it to him in Italy when they had encamped there.¹ By reason of this violent disposition his surrender was a greater pleasure to the victors.

XXV. At the same time that the Romans were attacking Heraclea, Philip by agreement was besieging Lamia, having met the consul near Thermopylae when he returned from Boeotia, to congratulate him and the Roman people upon his victory and to apologize because as a result of illness he had not been present at the battle. Then they separated to attack the two cities at the same time. They are about seven miles apart, and because Lamia both lies on a hill and commands a view especially over the region of Oeta, the distance seems exceedingly² short and everything is in sight. While the Romans and the Macedonians, as if competing for a prize, were strenuously engaged day and night either on the siege-works or in fighting, the task of the Macedonians was the more difficult because the Romans were fighting with a terrace and mantlets and all their works above ground, the Macedonians

² Both *oppido* and *quam* are colloquial intensives, and the combination of the two seems not to occur before Livy.

A.U.C.
563

cuniculis oppugnabant, et in asperis locis silex paene
 5 impenetrabilis ferro occurrebat. Et cum parum
 procederet inceptum, per colloquia principum oppi-
 6 danos temptabat rex ut urbem dederent,¹ haud dubius
 quin si prius Heraclea capta foret, Romanis se potius
 quam sibi dedituri essent, suamque gratiam consul in
 7 obsidione liberanda facturum esset. Nec eum opinio
 est frustrata; confestim enim ab Heraclea capta
 nuntius venit ut oppugnatione absisteret: aequius
 esse Romanos milites, qui acie dimicassent cum
 8 Aetolis, praemia victoriae habere. Ita recessum ab
 Lamia est, et propinquae clade urbis ipsi, ne quid
 simile paterentur, effugerunt.

XXVI. Paucis priusquam Heraclea caperetur die-
 bus Aetoli concilio Hypatam coacto legatos ad An-
 2 tiochum miserunt, inter quos et Thoas idem, qui et
 antea, missus est. Mandata erant ut ab rege pete-
 rent, primum ut ipse coactis rursus terrestribus
 3 navalibusque² copiis in Graeciam traiceret, deinde,
 si qua ipsum teneret res, ut pecuniam et auxilia
 mitteret; id cum ad dignitatem eius fidemque
 pertinere,³ non prodi socios, tum etiam ad incolumi-
 tatem regni, ne sineret Romanos vacuos omni cura,
 4 cum Aetolorum gentem sustulissent, omnibus copiis
 5 in Asiam traicere.⁴ Vera erant quae dicebantur;

¹ dederent ς : decederent *B*.

² navalibusque ς : naualibus *B*.

³ pertinere *Aldus*: pertineret *B* ς .

⁴ traicere ς : traiceret *B*.

¹ Philip showed no signs of resentment at this treatment until 185 B.C. (XXXIX. xxiii. 9), when it was one of his grievances.

with tunnels underground, and in the rough spots B.C. 191
 flint, almost unworkable with iron, met them. And
 since they were making little progress, the king,
 through conferences with their chiefs, tried to induce
 the townspeople to surrender the city, not doubting
 that if Heraclea were captured first they would
 submit to the Romans in preference to him and that
 the consul would take the credit to himself in raising
 the siege. Nor was he deceived in this opinion;
 for immediately after the taking of Heraclea the
 message came that he should abandon the siege:
 it was fairer that the Roman soldiers, who had
 fought in the battle-line with the Aetolians, should
 enjoy the rewards of victory.¹ So he retired from
 Lamia and, after the misfortune of a neighbouring
 city, the people escaped suffering a similar fate.²

XXVI. A few days before Heraclea was taken the
 Aetolians held a council at Hypata and sent am-
 bassadors to Antiochus, among whom was again the
 same Thoas who had been sent there before. Their
 instructions were that they should ask the king,
 first, that he should again collect all his forces on
 land and sea and cross to Greece; secondly, if any-
 thing detained him, that he should send money and
 reinforcements; that his allies be not deserted con-
 cerned not only his dignity and loyalty but the
 safety of his kingdom; that he should not permit
 the Romans, free from all worry after they had
 destroyed the Aetolian people, to cross with all
 their forces to Asia. What they said was true; and

² The natural inference from the consul's message would be that the Roman army would at once take up the siege, but this was not done and Lamia was not taken until the next year (XXXVII. v. 3).

A.U.C.
563

eo magis regem moverunt. Itaque in praesentia pecuniam, quae ad usus belli necessaria erat, legatis dedit; auxilia terrestria navalique affirmavit missurum. Thoantem unum ex legatis retinuit, et ipsum haud invitum morantem, ut exactor praesens promissorum adesset.

XXVII. Ceterum Heraclea capta fregit tandem animos Aetolorum, et paucos¹ post dies quam ad bellum renovandum acciendumque regem in Asiam miserant legatos, abiectis belli consiliis pacis petendae oratores ad consulem miserunt. Quos dicere exorsos consul interfatus, cum alia sibi praevertenda esse dixisset, redire Hypatam eos datis dierum decem indutiis et L. Valerio Flacco cum iis misso iussit eique, quae secum acturi fuissent, exponere, et si qua vellent alia. Hypatam ut est ventum, principes Aetolorum apud Flaccum concilium habuerunt consultantes, quonam agendum modo apud consulem foret. Parantibus iis antiqua iura foederum ordiri meritaque in populum Romanum absistere iis Flaccus iussit, quae ipsi violassent ac rupissent; confessionem iis culpa magis profuturam et totam in preces orationem versam; nec enim in causa² ipsorum, sed in populi Romani clementia³ spem salutis positam esse; et se⁴ suppliciter agentibus iis adfuturum⁵ et apud consulem et Romae in senatu; eo quoque enim mittendos fore legatos. Haec una via omnibus

¹ paucos *Drakenborch*: ad paucos *B*.

² causa ς : causam *B*.

³ clementia ς : clementiam *B*.

⁴ *se ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B*.

⁵ adfuturum ς : profuturum *B*.

for that reason it impressed the king more. There-fore for the moment he gave the ambassadors the money which was needed for the expenses of the war; he assured them that he would send military and naval assistance. Thoas, one of the ambassadors, he kept with him; he remained there not at all against his will, that someone might be at hand to demand the fulfilment of the promises. B.C. 191

XXVII. But the capture of Heraclea finally broke the spirit of the Aetolians, and a few days after they had sent ambassadors to Asia to renew the war and summon the king, they laid aside their warlike designs and sent delegates to the consul to beg for peace. The consul broke in when they had begun to speak, saying that he had more important matters to attend to, and ordered them to return to Hypata, granting them a truce of ten days and sending Lucius Valerius Flaccus with them, telling them to state to him the matters they had planned to discuss with himself and anything else they desired. When they reached Hypata the chiefs of the Aetolians held a meeting with Flaccus, considering in what manner they should plead with the consul. They were preparing to begin with their ancient treaty relations and their services to the Roman people, when Flaccus bade them cease to mention what they had themselves violated and broken; a confession of wrongdoing would avail them more and a speech devoted entirely to prayers; for not on their own cause but on the clemency of the Roman people did their hopes of safety depend; he too would support them if they should plead like suppliants both before the consul and with the senate at Rome; for there too ambassadors should be sent. This

A.U.C.
563

ad salutem visa est, ut in fidem se permitterent Romanorum; ita enim et illis¹ violandi supplices verecundiam se imposituros, et ipsos nihilo minus suae potestatis fore, si quid melius fortuna ostendisset.

XXVIII. Postquam ad consulem ventum est, Phaeneas legationis princeps longam orationem et varie ad mitigandam iram victoris compositam ita ad extremum finivit, ut diceret Aetolos se suaque
2 omnia fidei populi Romani permittere. Id consul ubi audivit, "etiam atque etiam videte" inquit, "Aetoli, ut ita permittatis." Tum decretum Phaeneas, in
3 quo id² diserte scriptum erat, ostendit. "Quando ergo" inquit "ita permittitis, postulo, ut³ mihi Dicaearchum civem vestrum et Menestam Epirotam"—Naupactum is cum praesidio ingressus ad defectionem compulerat—"et Amyndrum cum principibus Athamanum, quorum consilio ab nobis defecistis,
4 sine mora dedatis." Prope dicentem interfatus Romanum "non in servitutem" inquit, "sed in fidem tuam nos tradidimus, et certum habeo te⁴

¹ illis *edd. vet.*: illi *B*γ.

² in quo id *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: in id quod *B*: in id quo γ.

³ ut *ed. Moguntina* 1518: id *B*γ.

⁴ habeo te *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: habeo *B*: te habeo γ.

¹ There was then a mental reservation in the submission of the Aetolians which was consistent enough with Greek institutions: it bound the Romans to show them the consideration due to suppliants, but left the Aetolians free to break off the relations when an opportunity presented itself. One wonders how much of this Flaccus understood and accepted as part of the proposal. On the other hand, as Polybius (XX. ix) shows, the Aetolians did not understand that to the Romans *in fidem se permittere* meant complete and unconditional surrender. In consequence the two parties are at

seemed to all of them the only way to safety, that B.O. 191 they should entrust themselves to the good faith of the Romans; for that by so doing they would at once render the Romans ashamed to do violence to suppliants and themselves no less be absolutely free should fortune offer them anything better.

XXVIII. When they came before the consul, Phaeneas, the leader of the embassy, spoke at length and with manifold devices with which to soften the heart of the conqueror and concluded by saying that the Aetolians entrusted themselves and all their possessions to the good faith of the Roman people. When the consul heard this he replied, "Consider again and again, Aetolians, whether you are submitting on these conditions." Then Phaeneas displayed the decree in which this was explicitly stated in writing.¹ "Since, then," the consul said, "you are submitting on these terms, I demand that Dicaearchus your fellow-citizen and Menestas of Epirus"—he had entered Naupactus with a garrison and compelled it to revolt—"and Amynder with the chiefs of the Athamanes, by whose advice you revolted from us,² be delivered to me without delay." He interrupted while the Roman was still speaking: "We have not delivered ourselves into slavery but have entrusted ourselves to your good faith,³ and I

cross purposes in the following debate until the national definitions are made clear.

² From XXXV. xlvii. 5-8 it appears that Acilius is misinformed about the conduct of the Athamanes. In any case Amynder himself was beyond the reach of the Aetolians (xiv. 9 above).

³ This is the Aetolian interpretation of the phrase, which put the Romans on their honour to treat them as suppliants, but bound the Aetolians by no obligation.

A.T.O.
563

imprudencia labi, qui nobis imperes, quae moris
 5 Graecorum non sint." Ad ea consul "nec hercule"
 inquit "magnopere nunc curo quid Aetoli satis ex
 more Graecorum factum esse censeant, dum ego
 more Romano imperium inhibeam in deditos modo
 6 decreto suo, ante armis victos; itaque, ni propere fit,
 quod impero, vinciri vos iam iubebo." Adferri
 catenas et circumsternere lictores iussit. Tum¹
 fracta Phaeneae ferocia Aetolisque aliis est, et
 7 tandem cuius condicionis essent senserunt, et
 Phaeneas se quidem et qui adsint Aetolorum scire
 facienda esse quae imperentur dixit, sed ad decer-
 nenda ea concilio² Aetolorum opus esse; ad id
 8 petere ut decem dierum indutias daret. Petente
 Flacco pro Aetolis indutiae datae, et Hypatam
 reditum est. Ubi cum in consilio delectorum, quos
 apocletos³ vocant, Phaeneas, et quae imperarentur et
 9 quae ipsis⁴ prope accidissent, exposuisset, ingemue-
 runt quidem principes condicioni⁵ suae, parendum
 tamen victori censebant et ex omnibus oppidis con-
 vocandos Aetolos ad concilium.

XXIX. Postquam vero coacta omnis multitudo
 eadem illa audivit, adeo saevitia imperii atque
 indignitate animi exasperati sunt ut, si in pace
 fuissent, illo impetu irae concitari potuerint ad

¹ tum ̄: cum B.

² concilio ̄: consilio B.

³ apocletos ̄: apoclestos B.

⁴ ipsis ̄: ipsi B.

⁵ condicioni ed. Frobeniana 1535: condicionis B̄.

¹ This is the Roman interpretation of the same phrase.

feel sure that you err from ignorance in giving us B.C. 191
 orders which are inconsistent with the customs of
 the Greeks." To this the consul replied: "Nor, by
 Hercules, do I care very much what the Aetolians
 regard as properly consistent with the customs of
 the Greeks, since I, in the Roman way, am deliver-
 ing an order to men who a moment ago surrendered¹
 by their own decree and had previously been con-
 quered by armed force; therefore, unless my order
 is immediately executed I shall at once order you
 to be put in chains." He directed the chains to be
 brought and the lictors to stand by. Then the
 haughty spirit of Phaeneas was broken and that
 of the other Aetolians, and they finally perceived in
 what condition they were, and Phaeneas said that
 he and those of the Aetolians who were present
 knew that they would have to do what was com-
 manded, but that to confirm the decree a council of
 the Aetolians was necessary; for that purpose he
 requested that a truce for ten days be granted them.
 When Flaccus supported the request on behalf of
 the Aetolians the truce was granted and they
 returned to Hypata. There, when in the select
 council which they call the *apocletes* Phaeneas
 explained both what they were ordered to do and
 what they had almost experienced, the chiefs indeed
 groaned at their situation, yet recognized that they
 must obey their conqueror and that the Aetolians
 from all the towns must be summoned to a council.

XXIX. But after the assembled multitude had
 heard the same narrative, anger at the order and a
 sense of unjust treatment so inflamed their minds
 that, if they had been at peace, they would by
 that onset of passion have been provoked to war.

A.U.C.
568

2 bellum. Ad iram accedebat et difficultas eorum,
 quae imperarentur (quonam modo enim utique re-
 3 gem Amyndrum se tradere posse?) et spes forte
 oblata, quod Nicander eo ipso tempore ab rege An-
 tiocho veniens implevit expectatione vana multitu-
 4 dinem, terra marique ingens parari bellum. Duo-
 decimo is die quam conscenderat navem, in Aetoliam
 perfecta legatione rediens Phalara in sinu Maliaco
 5 tenuit. Inde Lamiam pecuniam cum devexisset,
 ipse cum expeditis prima vespera inter Macedonum
 Romanae castra medio agro, dum Hypatam notis
 callibus petit, in stationem incidit Macedonum
 deductusque ad regem est nondum convivio dimisso.
 6 Quod ubi nuntiatum est, velut hospitis, non hostis
 adventu motus Philippus accumbere eum epularique
 7 iussit, atque inde dimissis aliis, solum retentum,
 8 ipsum quidem de se timere quicquam vetuit, Aeto-
 lorum prava consilia atque in ipsorum caput
 semper recidentia accusavit, qui primum Romanos,
 9 deinde Antiochum in Graeciam adduxissent. Sed
 praeteritorum, quae magis reprehendi quam corrigi
 possint, oblitum se non facturum, ut insultet adversis
 10 rebus eorum; Aetolos quoque finire tandem adversus
 se odia debere, et Nicandrum privatim¹ eius diei, quo
 11 servatus a se foret, meminisse. Ita datis qui in
 tutum eum prosequerentur, Hypatam Nicander
 consultantibus de pace Romana supervenit.

¹ priuatim ϵ : priuatum B.

Added to their wrath was also the difficulty of the orders (for how, in any case, could they possibly hand over King Amyndander?) and the hope which by chance offered itself because just at that time Nicander, coming from King Antiochus, filled the multitude with the idle expectation that a great war was preparing on land and sea. On the twelfth day after he had embarked he returned to Aetolia after completing his mission and put in at Phalara on the Malian gulf. When he had brought the money from there to Lamia and he with his companions travelling light was passing at nightfall across the fields between the Macedonian and Roman camps, seeking Hypata over familiar paths, he encountered a picket of Macedonians and was conducted to the king, whose dinner-party had not yet broken up. When this was announced Philip, behaving as if a guest, not an enemy, had arrived, bade him recline and dine and then, dismissing the others and keeping him alone, forbade his guest to have any fear of himself, and blamed the Aetolians for the evil counsels which had brought first the Romans and then Antiochus to Greece, counsels ever fated to recoil upon their own heads. But forgetting the past, which could be criticized more easily than corrected, he would not act in such a way as to trample upon them in their misfortunes; the Aetolians too should at length end their quarrel with him, and Nicander personally should remember the day on which his life had been spared by him. So he provided him with an escort to conduct him to a place of safety, and Nicander proceeded to Hypata and found them deliberating about the Roman peace.

A.U.C.
563

XXX. M'. Acilius vendita aut concessa militi circa Heracleam praeda, postquam nec Hypatae pacata consilia¹ esse, et Naupactum concurrisset Aetolos, ut inde totum impetum belli sustinerent, audivit,
 2 praemisso Ap. Claudio cum quattuor milibus militum ad occupanda iuga, qua difficiles transitus montium
 3 erant, ipse Oetam escendit Herculiue sacrificium fecit in eo loco quem Pyram, quod ibi mortale corpus eius dei sit crematum, appellant. Inde toto exercitu profectus reliquum iter satis expedito agmine fecit;
 4 ut ad Coracem ventum est—mons est altissimus inter Callipolim et Naupactum—ibi et iumenta multa ex agmine praecipitata cum ipsis oneribus sunt et ho-
 5 mines vexati; et facile apparebat quam cum inerti hoste res esset, qui tam impeditum saltum nullo
 6 praesidio, ut clauderet transitum, insedisset. Tum quoque vexato exercitu ad Naupactum descendit, et uno castello adversus arcem posito ceteras partes urbis divisit copiis pro situ moenium circumscivit. Nec minus operis laborisque ea oppugnatio quam Heracleae habuit.

XXXI. Eodem tempore et Messene in Peloponneso ab Achaeis, quod concilii eorum recusaret esse,
 2 oppugnari coepta est. Duae² civitates, Messene et Elis, extra concilium Achaicum erant; cum Aetolis
 3 sentiebant. Elei tamen post fugatum ex Graecia Antiochum legatis Achaeorum lenius responderant:

¹ consilia 5: concilia B.

² duae 5: et duae B.

¹ Literally, "funeral pile."

² For their embassy to Antiochus and their anticipations of trouble with the Achaeans, see v. 1-2 above.

XXX. Manius Acilius, having sold or given to the soldiers the booty around Heraclea, when he heard that no pacific counsels were being taken at Hypata but that the Aetolians had assembled at Naupactus, that from there they might endure the whole violence of the war, sent Appius Claudius in advance with four thousand men to hold the ridges where the crossing of the mountains was difficult and himself climbed Oeta and offered sacrifice to Hercules at the place which they call Pyra,¹ since there the mortal body of the god had been burned. Then setting out with the entire army he finished the rest of the journey with fairly easy marching; when he came to Corax—this is a very high mountain between Callipolis and Naupactus—there both many animals from the train plunged to the bottom of the gorge, loads and all, and the men were in difficulties; and it was easily seen with how careless an enemy they had to deal, who had not held so difficult a pass with any kind of guard to prevent their crossing. Then too, though his army had suffered, he marched down to Naupactus, and establishing one fort over against the citadel he, dividing his forces as the situation of the walls required, surrounded the other sections of the city. Nor did this siege involve any less toil and labour than that of Heraclea.

XXXI. At the same time too Messene in the Peloponnesus began to be besieged by the Achaeans because it refused to join their league. Two cities, Messene and Elis, were outside the Achaean council; their sympathies were with the Aetolians. The Eleans, however, after Antiochus was driven from Greece,² responded more moderately to the am-

A.U.C.
563

dimisso praesidio regio cogitatu-
 4 rum se quid¹ sibi
 faciendum esset; Messenii sine responso dimissis
 legatis moverant bellum, trepidique rerum suarum,
 5 cum iam ager effuso exercitu passim ureretur castra-
 que prope urbem poni viderent, legatos Chalcidem
 ad T. Quinctium, auctorem libertatis, miserunt, qui
 nuntiarent Messenios Romanis, non Achaeis et
 6 aperire portas et dedere urbem paratos esse. Auditis
 legatis extemplo profectus Quinctius a Megalopoli
 ad Diophanen praetorem Achaeorum misit, qui
 extemplo reducere eum a Messene exercitum et
 7 venire ad se iuberet. Dicto paruit Diophanes et
 soluta obsidione expeditus ipse praegressus agmen
 circa Andaniam, parvum oppidum inter Megalopolim
 8 Messenenque positum, Quinctio occurrit; et cum
 causas oppugnationis exponeret, castigatum leniter,
 quod tantam rem sine auctoritate sua conatus esset,
 dimittere exercitum iussit nec pacem omnium bono
 9 partam turbare. Messeniis imperavit ut exules
 reducerent et Achaeorum concilii essent; si qua
 haberent de quibus aut recusare aut in posterum
 10 caveri sibi vellent, Corinthum ad se venirent; Dio-
 phanen concilium Achaeorum extemplo sibi praebere

¹ se quid 5: quid B.

¹ The Achaeans were trying to induce these two cities voluntarily to join them or, if necessary, to coerce them.

² Livy does not mention it, but a short time before Philopoemen had released Messene from the domination of Nabis (Pausanias IV. xxix. 4); it had probably favoured Antiochus. Cities within Achaean territory but not members of the League were of course constant menaces to the League.

³ Diophanes had succeeded Philopoemen as Achaean *strategus* in the fall of 191 B.C.

⁴ Quinctius had no authority from any source, Roman or Greek, to issue orders to the Greeks. He based his actions

bassadors of the Achaeans:¹ if the royal garrison B.C. 191
 were withdrawn they would consider what they
 should do; the Messenians,² on the other hand, had
 dismissed the ambassadors unanswered and had
 begun war, but fearful for their cause when their
 crops were being burned everywhere by a wide-
 ranging army and they saw the camp established
 near the city, they sent ambassadors to Chalcis to
 Titus Quinctius, the source of their liberty, to say
 that the Messenians were ready to open their gates
 and surrender their city to the Romans, not the
 Achaeans. Having listened to the ambassadors
 Quinctius, setting out at once from Megalopolis, sent
 a messenger to Diophanes, praetor of the Achaeans,³
 to order him to withdraw his army at once from
 Messene and to report to him. Diophanes obeyed
 the summons, and raising the siege and himself
 travelling light, preceded the column and near
 Andania, a little town located between Megalopolis
 and Messene, met Quinctius; and when he had ex-
 plained the reason for the siege, Quinctius re-
 proached him gently because he had undertaken
 so important a matter without his authorization,⁴
 and ordered him to disband his army and not to
 disturb the peace secured to the advantage of every-
 one. He instructed the Messenians to recall their
 exiles and join the council of the Achaeans; if they
 had any matters about which they wished to raise
 objections or to take precautions for themselves
 against future contingencies, they should come to
 him at Corinth; Diophanes he directed to give him
 an immediate opportunity to meet the Achaean

on his prestige and his peculiar position as the liberator of
 Greece, and they were rarely challenged by the Greek states.

A.U.C.
563

iussit. Ibi de Zacyntho intercepta per fraudem insula questus postulavit, ut restitueretur Romanis.

- 11 Philippi Macedonum regis Zacynthus fuerat; eam mercedem Amynandro dederat, ut per Athamaniam ducere exercitum in superiorem partem Aetoliae liceret, qua expeditione fractis animis Aetolos compulit ad petendam pacem. Amynander Philippum Megalopolitanum insulae praefecit; postea per bellum, quo se Antiocho adversus Romanos coniunxit, Philippo ad munera belli revocato Hieroclen Agrigentinum successorem misit.

XXXII. Is post fugam ab Thermopylis Antiochi Amynandrumque a Philippo Athamania pulsum missis ultro ad Diophanen praetorem Achaeorum nuntiis pecunia pactus¹ insulam Achaeis tradidit.²

- 2 Id praemium belli suum esse aequum censebant Romani: non enim M'. Acilium consulem legionesque Romanas Diophani et Achaeis ad Thermopylas pugnasse. Diophanes adversus haec purgare interdum³ sese gentemque, interdum de iure facti disserere. Quidam Achaeorum et initio eam se rem aspernatos testabantur et tunc pertinaciam increpita-

¹ pactus ς : pactis B.

² tradidit ς : tradit B.

³ purgare interdum *aut* interdum purgare ς : purgare B.

¹ Now that Rome was permanently involved in the east, Zacynthos had a certain strategic value, since it was important to have all possible naval bases closed to foreign powers. Rome had occupied it in 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxiv. 15), but in some manner it had passed into Philip's possession. Livy relates its subsequent history in the following sections. For some reason Quinctius makes no mention of Rome's earlier interest.

council. There he complained about the island of Zacynthos,¹ which had been wrongfully occupied, and demanded that it be restored to the Romans. Zacynthos had formerly belonged to Philip, king of the Macedonians; he had ceded it to Amynander as a bribe to induce him to permit Philip to lead his army through Athamania into the upper part of Aetolia, on the expedition² by which he had broken the spirits of the Aetolians and forced them to seek peace. Amynander had appointed Philip of Megalopolis governor of the island; later, during the war in which he joined Antiochus against the Romans, he had recalled Philip for military duties and sent Hierocles of Agrigentum to succeed him.

XXXII. He, after the flight of Antiochus from Thermopylae and the expulsion of Amynander from Athamania by Philip, had at his own instance sent ambassadors to Diophanes, praetor of the Achaeans, had made a bargain for money, and transferred the island to the Achaeans. That it should be their prize of war seemed fair to the Romans: for, they said, Manius Acilius the consul and the Roman legions had not fought for Diophanes and the Achaeans at Thermopylae.³ Diophanes in reply sometimes defended himself and the state, sometimes argued the legal aspects of the case. Some of the Achaeans both bore witness that from the beginning they had objected to the proceeding and at this time taunted the praetor for his persistence;

¹ In 207 B.C. (XXVIII. vii. 14) or 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 1).

² Quinctius may have spoken more frankly than he realized or intended on this occasion, but the Greeks themselves were rapidly making the Roman position as disinterested liberators untenable.

A.U.C.
563

bant praetoris; auctoribusque iis decretum est, ut
 5 T. Quinctio ea res permetteretur. Erat Quinctius
 sicut adversantibus asper, ita, si cederes, idem
 placabilis. Omissa contentione vocis vultusque "si
 utilem" inquit "possessionem eius insulae censerem
 Achaeis esse, auctor essem senatui populoque
 6 Romano ut eam vos habere sinerent¹; ceterum sicut
 testudinem, ubi collecta in suum tegumen est, tutam
 ad omnes ictus video esse, ubi exserit² partes aliquas,
 quodcumque nudavit,³ obnoxium atque infirmum
 habere, haud dissimiliter vos, Achaei, clausos undique
 7 mari, quae intra Peloponnesi sunt terminos,⁴ ea et
 8 iungere vobis et iuncta tueri facile, simul aviditate
 plura amplectendi hinc excedatis, nuda vobis omnia,
 quae extra sint, et exposita ad omnes ictus esse."
 9 Adsentienti omni concilio nec Diophane ultra tendere
 auso Zacynthus Romanis traditur.

XXXIII. Per idem tempus Philippus rex profi-
 ciscentem consulem ad Naupactum percunctatus, si se
 interim quae defecissent ab societate Romana urbes
 2 recipere vellet, permittente eo ad Demetriadem
 copias admovit haud ignarus, quanta ibi tum turbatio
 3 esset. Destituti enim ab omni spe, cum desertos se
 ab Antiocho, spem nullam in Aetolis esse cernerent,
 dies noctesque aut Philippi hostis adventum aut
 infestiores etiam, quo iustius irati erant, Romanorum

¹ sinerent 5: sineret B.

² exserit 5: exiret B.

³ nudavit ed. Frobeniana 1535: nudabit B.

⁴ sunt terminos ed. Frobeniana 1531: est termino B5.

¹ Practically the same story, though with a different context, is told by Plutarch (*Flaminius* xvii).

² Flaminius was fond of homely and graphic similes: cf. XXXV. xlix. 6-7, which is also related by Plutarch (*l.c.*).

and on their motion it was voted that the question B.C. 191
 be referred to Titus Quinctius. Although Quinctius was harsh in the face of opposition, yet, if you gave in to him, he was also easy to please. Banishing all signs of passion from voice and expression, he said, "If I believed that the possession of the island was useful to you, Achaeans, I should urge upon the senate and the Roman people that they permit you to keep it; but like a tortoise,¹ which I see to be secure against all attacks when it has all its parts drawn up inside its shell, but when it sticks any part out it has that member which is exposed weak and open to injury, in no different fashion you, Achaeans, shut in on all sides by the sea, can both easily unite to yourselves anything within the boundaries of the Peloponnesus, and, when thus united, easily defend it, but as soon as in your desire for larger acquisitions you overstep those limits, I see that all the parts which lie outside are unprotected and vulnerable to every blow."² The whole council assenting and Diophanes not daring to struggle longer, Zacynthos was ceded to the Romans.

XXXIII. About the same time King Philip, as the consul was leaving for Naupactus, asked him whether he wished meanwhile to recover the cities that had abandoned the Roman alliance, and with his consent moved his troops towards Demetrias, well knowing what confusion reigned there. For, abandoned by all hope, when they saw themselves deserted by Antiochus, with no prospect of help from the Aetolians, by day and night they looked for the arrival either of Philip, an enemy, or of the Romans, even more hostile in proportion to their

A.U.C.
563

4 expectabant.¹ Turba erat ibi incondita² regionum, qui primo pauci in praesidio relictī, postea plures, plerique inermes, ex proelio adverso fuga delatī, nec virium nec animi satis ad obsidionem tolerandam
5 habebant; itaque praemissis a Philippo, qui³ spem impetrabilis veniae ostendebant, responderunt patere
6 portas regi. Ad primum eius ingressum principum quidam urbe excesserunt, Eurylochus mortem sibi conscivit. Antiochi milites—sic enim pacti erant—per Macedoniam Thraeciamque prosequentibus Macedonibus, ne quis eos violaret, Lysimachiam
7 deducti sunt. Erant et paucae naves Demetriade, quibus praeerat Isidorus; eae quoque cum praefecto suo dimissae sunt. Inde Dolopiam et Aperantiam et Perrhaebiae quasdam civitates recipit.

XXXIV. Dum haec a Philippo geruntur, T. Quinctius recepta Zacyntho ab Achaico concilio Naupactum traiecit, quae iam per duos menses—et iam prope excidium erat—oppugnabatur, et si⁴ capta vi foret, omne nomen ibi Aetolorum ad internecionem
3 videbatur venturum. Ceterum quamquam merito iratus erat Aetolis, quod solos obtrectasse gloriae suae cum liberaret Graeciam meminerat, et nihil auctoritate sua motos esse, cum quae tum maxime accidebant⁵ casura praemonens a furioso incepto

¹ expectabant *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: expectarent *B*γ.

² turba erat ibi incondita *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: turbae erant ibi inconditae *B*.

³ qui γ: quia *B*.

⁴ et si γ: si *B*.

⁵ accidebant *Madvig*: acciderat *B*: acciderant γ.

¹ Cf. XXXV. xxxi. 6 ff.

² Cf. xx. 5 above.

³ *Nomen* is not infrequently used in the sense of "people":

juster cause for anger. There was in the city an B.C. 191 undisciplined mob of the king's soldiers, a few of whom had at first been left on guard, but afterwards more came, most of them unarmed, brought there in their flight after the defeat, nor did they have enough of either strength or courage to resist a siege; and so when agents were sent ahead by Philip, who showed them that the hope of pardon was attainable, they replied that the gates were open to the king. At his first entrance some of the leading men left the city; Eurylochus¹ committed suicide. The soldiers of Antiochus—for such was the agreement—were conducted by a Macedonian escort, that no one might injure them, through Macedonia and Thrace to Lysimachia. There were also a few ships at Demetrias under the command of Isidorus;² they too with the prefect were sent home. After that he recovered Dolopia and Aperantia and certain cities of Perrhaebia.

XXXIV. While Philip was thus engaged, Titus Quinctius, after recovering Zacynthos from the Achaean council, crossed to Naupactus, which for two months now—and it was near destruction by this time—had been undergoing the siege, and if it were captured by force the whole³ of the Aetolians there seemed destined to come to annihilation. But though he was justly angry at the Aetolians because he remembered that they alone had cavilled at his glory when he was liberating Greece, and that they had not been moved by his influence when he warned them in advance that that would happen which did actually occur, and tried to deter them from their

cf., e.g., III. viii. 10 and the similar usage in the phrase *nomen Latinum*.

A.U.C.
563

4 eos deterreret, tamen sui maxime operis esse credens
nullam gentem liberatae ab se Graeciae funditus
everti, obambulare muris, ut facile nosceretur ab
5 Aetolis, coepit. Confestim a primis stationibus
cognitus est, vulgatumque per omnes ordines,
Quinctium esse. Itaque concursu facto undique
in muros manus pro se quisque tendentes consonante
clamore nominatim Quinctium orare ut opem ferret
6 ac servaret. Et tum quidem, quamquam moveretur
his vocibus, manu tamen abnuit¹ quicquam opis in se
esse²; ceterum postquam ad consulem venit,
7 "utrum fefellit" inquit "te, M'. Acili, quid agatur
an, cum satis pervideas, nihil id magnopere ad
8 summam rem pertinere censes?" Erexerat ex-
pectatione consulem; et "quin expromis" inquit
"quid rei sit?" Tum Quinctius "ecquid vides te
devicto Antiocho in duabus urbibus³ oppugnandis
tempus terere, cum iam prope annus circumactus sit
9 imperii tui, Philippum autem, qui non aciem, non
signa hostium vidit, non solum urbes sed tot iam
gentes, Athamaniam Perrhaebiam Aperantiam Dolo-
piam, sibi adiunxisse, et victoriae tuae praemium te
militesque tuos nondum duas urbes, Philippum tot
10 gentes Graeciae habere⁴? Atqui non tantum interest

¹ abnuit 5: annuit B. ² esse 5: esset B.

³ in duabus urbibus 5: . . . ab urbibus B.

⁴ *verba et . . . habere, post crescere in B5 collocata, transposuit Madvig.*

¹ This incident raises the question of the relation between Quinctius and Acilius (see also the note to i. 8 above). The actions of Quinctius at this time are hardly normal activities of a military subordinate, although they might be covered by the powers granted him by the senate (XXXV. xxiii. 5). One infers that Livy, and probably the Romans generally, did not understand the situation. Acilius had just witnessed

mad purpose, yet, believing it to be his task to see B.C. 191
that no people of the Greece which had received its
freedom from him should be utterly destroyed, he
began to walk around the walls, so that he was
easily seen by the Aetolians. Immediately he was
recognized by the advanced sentinels and the word
went through all the ranks that Quinctius was there.
So there was a general rush from all quarters to the
walls, each stretching out his hands to him and with
uniform cries calling upon Quinctius by name to
come to their rescue and save them. And for the
moment, at least, although he was affected by these
words, he showed by a gesture that there was no
power in him to help them; but when he came to
the consul¹ he said, "Has it perhaps escaped you,
Manius Acilius, what you are doing, or, since you
see it clearly, do you not think that it has a great
deal to do with our ultimate policy?" He had
worked the consul up to a high pitch of wonder,
and he asked, "Why not explain what you mean?"
Then Quinctius replied: "Do you not see that you,
after defeating Antiochus, are wasting time by
besieging two cities, although now the year of your
command is almost ended, but that Philip, who had
not set eyes on the battle-line or the standards of
the enemy, has already joined to himself, not cities
alone, but so many nations—Athamania, Perrhaebia,
Aperantia, Dolopia—and that as rewards for your
victory you possess as yet not even two cities, while
Philip has so many peoples of Greece? Yet it is not

a dramatic demonstration of the influence of Quinctius with the Greeks, and there is nothing strange about his compliance with his suggestion, even though Quinctius had no authority over the consul.

A.U.C.
563

nostra Aetolorum opes ac vires minui, quantum non supra modum Philippum crescere."

XXXV. Adsentiebatur his consul; sed pudor, si irrito incepto abscederet obsidione, occurrebat.

2 Tota inde Quinctio res permissa est. Is rursus ad eam partem muri qua paulo ante vociferati Aetoli fuerant rediit. Ibi cum impensius orarent ut misereretur gentis Aetolorum, exire aliquos ad se iussit.

3 Phaeneas ipse principesque alii extemplo egressi sunt. Quibus provolutis ad pedes " fortuna " inquit " vestra facit ut et irae meae et orationi temperem.

4 Evenerunt quae praedixi eventura, et ne hoc quidem reliqui vobis est ut indignis accidissee ea videantur; ego tamen sorte quadam nutriendae Graeciae datus

5 ne ingratiss quidem benefacere absistam. Mittite oratores ad consulem, qui indutias tanti¹ temporis petant, ut mittere legatos Romam possitis, per quod senatui de vobis permittatis; ego apud consulem deprecator defensorque vobis adero." Ita, ut censuerat Quinctius, fecerunt, nec aspernatus est consul legationem; indutiisque in diem certam datis, qua legatio renuntiari ab Roma posset, soluta obsidio est et exercitus in Phocidem missus.

7 Consul cum T. Quinctio ad Achaicum concilium Aegium traiecit. Ibi de Eleis et de exilibus Lacedaemoniorum restituendis actum est²; neutra perfecta res, quia suae gratiae reservari exulum

¹ tanti 5: tantum B.

² est Weissenborn: et B.

so much to our interest that the power and strength of the Aetolians should be diminished as that Philip should not grow beyond measure." B.C. 191

XXXV. The consul agreed with this, but shame, if he should withdraw before finishing what he had begun, came over him. The whole decision was then referred to Quinctius. He went back again to the section of the walls where the Aetolians had harangued him a little while before. When with greater fervour they begged him to have compassion on the Aetolian people, he ordered some of them to come out to him. Phaeneas himself and other chiefs at once came out. As they threw themselves at his feet, he said, " Your plight makes me restrain both my wrath and my language. Those things have happened which I told you in the beginning would happen, and not even this is left to you, that they may seem to have happened to the undeserving; yet I, appointed by some destiny for the cherishing of Greece, shall not cease to do good even to ungrateful men. Send ambassadors to the consul to ask for a truce for such a space of time that you may send delegates to Rome through whom you may put your case before the senate; I shall be with the consul to support and defend your cause." So they did as Quinctius had suggested, nor did the consul reject the embassy; granting them a truce for a definite period, in which the embassy could report back from Rome, he raised the siege and sent the army back to Phocis.

The consul with Titus Quinctius crossed to Aegium to the Achaean council. There the debate concerned the Eleans and the restoration of the Spartan exiles; neither question was settled, because the Achaeans wished the case of the exiles left as a means

A.U.C.
563

causam¹ Achaei, Elei per se ipsi quam per Romanos
 8 maluerunt Achaico contribui concilio. Epirotarum
 legati ad consulem venerunt, quos non sincera fide
 in amicitia fuisse satis constabat; militem tamen
 nullum Antiocho dederant; pecunia iuvisse eum
 insimulabantur; legatos ad regem ne ipsi quidem
 9 misisse infitiabantur. Iis petentibus ut in amicitia
 pristina esse liceret, respondit consul se, utrum
 hostium an pacatorum eos numero haberet, nondum
 10 scire; senatum eius rei iudicem fore; integram se
 causam eorum Romam reicere; indutias ad id dierum
 11 nonaginta dare. Epirotae Romam missi senatum
 adierunt. Iis magis quae non fecissent hostilia
 referentibus quam purgantibus ea de quibus argue-
 bantur, responsum datum est, quo veniam impetrasse,
 12 non causam probasse videri possent. Et Philippi
 regis legati sub idem tempus in senatum introducti,
 gratulantes de victoria. Iis petentibus ut sibi
 sacrificare in Capitolio donumque ex auro liceret
 ponere in aede Iovis optimi maximi, permissum ab
 13 senatu. Centum pondo coronam auream posuerunt.
 Non responsum solum benigne regis legatis est sed²
 filius quoque Philippi Demetrius, qui obses Romae
 14 erat, ad patrem reducendus legatis datus est. Bellum

¹ exulum causam *Madvig: om. B.*² sed 5: et *B.*¹ Cf. v. 3-8 above.² This was a mark of special honour, since foreigners had no share in Roman ritual.³ Cf. XXXIII. xxx. 10; XXXV. xxxi. 5 and the note.

of gaining favour for themselves; while the Eleans ^{B.C. 191} preferred that they be united with the Achaean League on their own initiative rather than under pressure from the Romans. Ambassadors from the Epirotes came to the consul; it was clear that they had not observed the treaty of alliance with true fidelity; yet they had sent no troops to Antiochus; they were accused of having aided him with money; they did not even themselves deny that they had sent ambassadors to him.¹ When they asked that they be permitted to remain in their old status of friendship, the consul replied that he did not yet know whether to reckon them among enemies or among defeated foes; the senate would be the judge of that; he was referring the whole question of their status to Rome; for that purpose he granted them a truce for ninety days. The Epirotes sent to Rome and appealed to the senate. When they enumerated hostile acts which they had not performed rather than cleared themselves of the charges made against them, a reply was given them from which they could seem to have obtained forgiveness, not to have established their case. Ambassadors from King Philip also were at this time presented to the senate with congratulations on the victory. Their request that they be allowed to sacrifice on the Capitoline and to deposit a gift of gold in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was granted by the senate.² A golden crown of one hundred pounds' weight was placed there. Not only was a gracious response given to the ambassadors of the king, but also Demetrius, the son of Philip, who was a hostage at Rome,³ was handed over to the ambassadors to be restored to his father. The war which was waged

A.U.C.
563

quod cum Antiocho rege in Graecia gestum est a M'. Acilio consule hunc finem habuit.

XXXVI. Alter consul P. Cornelius Scipio, Galliam provinciam sortitus, priusquam ad bellum quod cum Bois gerendum erat proficisceretur, postulavit ab senatu ut pecunia sibi decerneretur ad ludos quos praetor in Hispania inter ipsum discrimen pugnae
 2 vovisset. Novum atque iniquum postulare est visus; censuerunt ergo, quos ludos inconsulto senatu¹ ex sua unius sententia vovisset, eos vel de manubiis, si quam pecuniam ad id reservasset, vel sua ipse impensa faceret. Eos ludos per dies decem P.
 3 Cornelius fecit. Per idem fere tempus aedes Matris Magnae Idaeae dedicata est quam deam is P. Cornelius advectam ex Asia P. Cornelio Scipione, cui postea Africano fuit cognomen, P. Licinio consulibus
 4 in Palatium a mari detulerat. Locaverant aedem faciendam ex senatus consulto M. Livius C. Claudius censores M. Cornelio P.² Sempronio consulibus; tredecim annis postquam locata erat,³ dedicavit eam

¹ inconsulto senatu ς : sine consultu senatus B.

² P. *Sigonius*: t. B ς .

³ locata erat ς : locauerat B.

¹ Cf. XXXV. i. 8.

² No commander could foresee an emergency of this magnitude in time to secure the senate's authority, and the senate seems unreasonable. There was no good way of checking up on commanders to see whether they had turned in all the booty (cf., however, XXXVII. lvii. 12-14), and it was probably customary for generals to hold out parts of it. Scipio seems to have been careless enough or honest enough not to reserve any booty for this purpose. This episode, together with the following, reveals, however, friction between the senate and the Scipios.

³ Cf. XXIX. xiv. 1. There are numerous references to the

with King Antiochus in Greece by Manius Acilius B.C. 191 the consul came thus to an end.

XXXVI. The other consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had been allotted the province of Gaul, before he departed to the war which was to be waged with the Boii, demanded of the senate that money be voted to him for the games which as praetor in Spain he had vowed at a critical moment in the battle.¹ His request seemed unprecedented and unreasonable; they voted, therefore, that whatever games he had vowed on his own sole initiative, with no authorization from the senate, he should celebrate either out of the spoils, if he had reserved any for that purpose, or out of his own pocket.² The games were celebrated through ten days by Publius Cornelius. About the same time a temple was dedicated to the Great Idaean Mother, a goddess whom this same Publius Cornelius, when she came from Asia in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Scipio, who later received the surname of Africanus, and Publius Licinius, had escorted to the Palatine from the harbour.³ The contract for the construction of the temple, under a decree of the senate, was let by the censors Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius in the consulship of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius;⁴ thirteen years after the contract was let,

selection of Scipio Nasica as the *vir optimus* to receive the goddess (e.g. XXXV. x. 9). The choice of Brutus rather than Nasica as the dedicator of the temple may be an additional rebuke to him. See, however, the *Periocha*.

⁴ The chronology is incorrect. Africanus and Licinius were consuls in 205 B.C. (XXVIII. xxxviii. 12) and Cethegus and Tuditanus in 204 B.C. (XXIX. xi. 10), when the divinity was brought to Rome. Livius and Claudius were censors in this year (XXIX. xxxvii. 1). See also sect. 6 below.

M. Iunius Brutus, ludique ob dedicationem eius
 5 facti, quos primos scenicos fuisse Antias Valerius est
 auctor, Megalesia appellatos. Item Iuventatis aedem
 in circo maximo C. Licinius Lucullus duumvir dedi-
 6 cavit. Voverat eam sexdecim¹ annis ante M. Livius
 consul quo die Hasdrubalem exercitumque eius
 cecidit; idem censor eam faciendam locavit M.
 7 Cornelio P. Sempronio consulibus. Huius quoque
 dedicandae causa ludi facti, et eo² omnia cum
 maiore religione facta, quod novum cum Antiocho
 instabat bellum.

XXXVII. Principio eius anni, quo haec iam pro-
 fecto ad bellum M'. Acilio, manente adhuc Romae P.
 2 Cornelio consule agebantur, boves duos domitos in
 Carinis per scalas pervenisse in tegulas aedificii pro-
 ditum memoriae est. Eos vivos comburi cineremque
 3 eorum deici in Tiberim haruspices iusserunt. Tarra-
 cinae et Amiterni nuntiatum est aliquotiens lapidibus
 pluvisse, Minturnis aedem Iovis et tabernas circa fo-
 rum de caelo tactas esse, Volturni in ostio fluminis
 4 duas naves fulmine³ ictas conflagrasse. Eorum
 prodigiorum causa libros Sibyllinos ex senatus con-
 sulto decemviri cum adissent, renuntiaverunt ieiun-
 ium instituendum Cereri⁴ esse, et id quinto quoque
 5 anno servandum; et ut novemdiale sacrum fieret et

¹ sexdecim 5: .VI. B.

² eo ed. Frobeniana 1535: om. B.

³ fulmine 5: flumine B.

⁴ cereri 5: cereris B.

¹ It is futile to try to determine just what Antias meant. Cf. XXXIV. liv. 3 for a similar statement.

² The temple was vowed at the battle of the Metaurus in 207 B.C., but Livy has not mentioned before either the vow or the contract.

Marcus Junius Brutus dedicated the temple, and games B.C. 191
 were given by reason of the dedication, which Valerius
 Antias says were the first to be held with dramatic per-
 formances, and called the *Megalesia*.¹ Also a temple
 of Juventas in the Circus Maximus was dedicated
 by Gaius Licinius Lucullus the duumvir. It had
 been vowed sixteen years before by Marcus Livius
 the consul in the battle in which he destroyed
 Hasdrubal and his army; as censor he also let the
 contract for its construction in the consulship of
 Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius.² By
 reason of this dedication also games were held, and
 with more intense religious feeling because the new
 war with Antiochus was imminent.³

XXXVII. In the beginning of the year in which
 these things happened, Manius Acilius having already
 set out to the war and Publius Cornelius the consul
 being still in Rome, it is recorded that two domesti-
 cated cattle in the Carinae climbed up a stairway to
 the roof of a house. The *haruspices* ordered that
 they be burned alive and the ashes thrown into the
 Tiber. At Terracina and Amiternum it was reported
 that there were several showers of stones, at Min-
 turnae the temple of Jupiter and the shops around
 the forum were struck by lightning, at Volturnum
 in the mouth of the river two ships were struck by
 lightning and burned. On account of these portents
 the decemvirs were directed by a decree of the
 senate to consult the Sibylline Books, and they
 reported that a fast in honour of Ceres should be
 held and this repeated every fifth year; also that
 a nine-day festival should be celebrated and a period
 of prayer for one day; that those who offered the

³ These events then belong to the early spring of 191 B.C.

A.U.C.
663

unum diem supplicatio esset; coronati supplicarent; et consul P. Cornelius, quibus diis quibusque
6 hostiis edidissent decemviri, sacrificaret. Placatis diis nunc votis rite solvendis nunc prodigiis expiandis, in provinciam proficiscitur consul, atque inde Cn.¹ Domitium proconsulem dimisso exercitu Romam decedere iussit; ipse in agrum Boiorum legiones induxit.²

XXXVIII. Sub idem fere tempus Ligures lege sacrata coacto exercitu nocte improvise castra Q. Minucii proconsulis aggressi sunt. Minucius usque ad lucem intra vallum militem instructum tenuit intentus, ne qua transenderet hostis munimenta.
3 Prima luce duabus simul portis eruptionem fecit. Nec primo impetu, quod speraverat, Ligures pulsati sunt; duas amplius horas dubium certamen sustinere;
4 postremo, cum alia atque alia³ agmina erumperent, et integri fessis succederent ad pugnam, tandem Ligures, inter cetera etiam vigiliis confecti, terga dederunt. Caesa supra quattuor milia⁴ hostium; ex Romanis sociisque minus trecenti
5 perierunt. Duobus fere post mensibus P. Cornelius consul cum Boiorum exercitu signis collatis egregie
6 pugnavit. Duodetriginta milia hostium occisa Antias Valerius scribit, capta tria milia⁵ et quadringentos,

¹ cn. 5: c. B.² induxit 5: duxit B.³ alia 5: om. B.⁴ quattuor milia 5: .IIII. B: quattuor milia nonaginta M.⁵ tria milia 5: .III. B.¹ This was in accordance with Greek ritual.² This interpretation is somewhat unnatural but is necessary to secure consistency with i. 9 above.

prayers should wear garlands;¹ and that the consul Publius Cornelius, in honour of whatever gods and with whatever victims the decemvirs should announce, should offer sacrifice. The gods were appeased now by the due performance of vows, now by the rites of atonement for the prodigies, and the consul departed to his province, ordering the proconsul Gnaeus Domitius to send his army back to Rome and leave the province;² he himself led the legions into the country of the Boii.

XXXVIII. About the same time the Ligures, mustering an army under a formula of devotion,³ by night suddenly attacked the camp of Quintus Minucius the proconsul. Minucius kept his troops in formation within the rampart right up to daybreak, being anxious to prevent any crossing of the fortifications by the enemy. At daybreak he made a sally through two gates at once. But the first attack did not, as he had hoped, drive away the Ligures; for two hours longer they made the issue uncertain; finally, when column after column came forth and fresh men were relieving the exhausted in the battle, the Ligures at length, worn out by loss of sleep along with everything else, turned to flight. More than four thousand of the enemy were killed; of the Romans and allies less than three hundred were lost. About two months later Publius Cornelius the consul fought in pitched battle with the army of the Boii with notable results. Valerius Antias writes that thirty-eight thousand of the enemy were slain, three thousand four hundred captured,

³ Violation of a *lex sacrata* was punished by devotion of the offender to the gods of the lower world. In such a case as this it would bind the troops by a vow of victory or death.

A.U.C.
563

signa militaria centum viginti quattuor, equos mille ducentos triginta, carpenta ducenta quadraginta septem; ex victoribus mille quadringentos octoginta quattuor cecidisse. Ubi ut in numero scriptori parum fidei sit, quia in augendo eo non alius intemperantior est, magnam tamen victoriam fuisse apparet, quod et castra capta sunt et Boi post eam pugnam extemplo dediderunt sese, et quod supplicatio eius victoriae causa decreta ab senatu victimaeque maiores caesae.

XXXIX. Per eosdem dies M. Fulvius Nobilior ex ulteriore Hispania ovans urbem est ingressus.
 2 Argenti transtulit duodecim milia pondo, bigati argenti centum triginta, auri centum viginti septem pondo.
 3 P. Cornelius consul obsidibus a Boiorum gente acceptis agri parte fere dimidia eos multavit, quo si vellet, populus Romanus colonias mittere posset.
 4 Inde Romam ut ad triumphum haud dubium decedens exercitum dimisit, et adesse Romae ad diem
 5 triumphi iussit; ipse postero die quam venit senatu in aedem Bellonae vocato cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset, postulavit ut sibi triumphanti liceret
 6 urbem invehī. P. Sempronius Blaesus tribunus plebis non negandum Scipioni, sed differendum honorem triumphi censebat: bella Ligurum Gallicis semper iuncta fuisse; eas inter se gentes mutua ex
 7 propinquo ferre auxilia. Si P. Scipio devictis¹ acie

¹ devictis *edd. vet.*: deductis *B.*

¹ Their submission was then not the usual formal surrender as an admission of defeat in one battle.

² This ovation was also reported in xxi. 10-11 above.

with one hundred twenty-four military standards, B.C. 191 one thousand two hundred thirty horses, two hundred forty-seven carts; of the victors the losses were one thousand four hundred eighty-four. Although even in this case little confidence can be placed in this writer in a question of numbers, because no other is more unrestrained than he in exaggeration, yet it is clear that it was a great victory, first, because the camp was captured, second, because the Boii surrendered immediately after the battle,¹ third, because a thanksgiving was proclaimed and full-grown victims slain.

XXXIX. About the same time Marcus Fulvius Nobilior from Farther Spain entered the City in ovation. He brought with him twelve thousand pounds of silver, one hundred and thirty thousand silver coins stamped with the two-horse chariot, one hundred and twenty-seven pounds of gold.²

Publius Cornelius the consul accepted hostages from the nation of the Boii and deprived them of about one-half their land, to which, if it chose, the Roman people could send colonies. Then, departing to Rome to the certain expectation of a triumph, he disbanded his army and ordered them to be in Rome on the day of the triumph; on the day after his arrival he himself convened the senate in the temple of Bellona, and when he had discoursed about his achievements he demanded that he be permitted to ride into the City in triumph. Publius Sempronius Blaesus, tribune of the people, declared that the honour of a triumph should not be refused to Scipio, but should be postponed: Ligurian wars were always connected with Gallic; these neighbouring tribes exchanged assistance. If Publius

A.U.C.
563

Bois aut ipse cum victore exercitu in agrum Ligurum transisset, aut partem copiarum Q. Minucio misisset, qui iam tertium ibi annum dubio detineretur bello, 8 debellari cum Liguribus potuisse; nunc ad triumphum frequentandum deductos esse milites, qui egregiam navare operam rei publicae potuissent, possent etiam, si senatus, quod festinatione triumphi praetermissum esset, id restituere differendo triumpho vellet. 9 Iuberent consulem cum legionibus redire in provinciam, dare operam, ut Ligures subigantur. Nisi illi cogantur in ius iudiciumque populi Romani, ne Boios quidem quieturos; aut pacem aut bellum utrobique 10 habenda. Devictis Liguribus, paucos post menses proconsulem P. Cornelium multorum exemplo, qui in magistratu non triumphaverunt, triumphaturum esse.

XL. Ad ea consul neque se Ligures provinciam sortitum esse ait, neque cum Liguribus bellum 2 gessisse, neque triumphum de iis postulare; Q. Minucium confidere brevi subactis iis meritum¹ triumphum postulaturum atque impetraturum esse; 3 se de Gallis Bois postulare triumphum, quos acie vicerit, castris exuerit, quorum gentem biduo post pugnam totam acceperit in deditionem, a quibus 4 obsides abduxerit, pacis futurae pignus. Verum enimvero illud multo maius esse, quod tantum

¹ meritum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: meritis (*an* meritas?)
B: merito 5.

¹ A magistrate who left his province, even for such a purpose, would expose himself to severe criticism, if nothing more: cf. XXXVII. xlvii. 6. The argument of Blaesus is then somewhat captious.

² Scipio had taken a good deal for granted when he sent his army back to Rome and left his province before he was relieved. This, however, is not the ground of the tribune's objections.

Scipio, after defeating the Boii in battle, had either B.C. 191 crossed himself with his victorious army into the country of the Ligures¹ or sent part of his troops to Quintus Minucius, who was for the third year now detained by a war of uncertain prospects, the war with the Ligures could have been finished; now the soldiers had been withdrawn to crowd the triumph, who could have rendered conspicuous service to the state, and who could do so even now if the senate wished, by deferring the triumph, to restore the condition which had been lost in the anxiety for a triumph. Let them order the consul with his legions to return to his province, to direct his attention to the subjugation of the Ligures. Unless they were brought under the sovereignty and supremacy of the Roman people, not even the Boii would remain quiet; they must have either peace or war with both. After conquering the Ligures, a few months later, Publius Cornelius the proconsul would triumph, after the example of many who had not triumphed while still in office.²

XL. To this the consul replied that the Ligures had not been allotted to him as his province, that he had not waged war with the Ligures, that he was not asking for a triumph over them; he felt sure that in a short time Quintus Minucius, having conquered them, would ask and receive a well-earned triumph; he was asking for a triumph over the Gallic Boii, whom he had defeated in battle, whom he had stripped of their camp, whose entire population he had, two days after the battle, received in surrender, from whom he had taken hostages as a guarantee of future peace. But this, as a matter of fact, was of far greater importance—that he had

A.U.C.
563

5 numerum Gallorum occiderit in acie, quot cum¹
 milibus certe Boiorum nemo ante se imperator
 6 pugnaverit. Plus partem dimidiam ex quinquaginta
 milibus hominum caesam, multa milia capta; senes
 7 puerosque Bois superesse. Itaque id quemquam
 mirari posse, cur victor exercitus, cum hostem in
 provincia neminem reliquisset, Romam venerit ad
 8 celebrandum consulis triumphum? Quorum militum
 si et in alia provincia opera uti senatus velit, utro
 tandem modo promptiores ad aliud periculum
 novumque laborem ituros credat, si persoluta eis sine
 detractatione prioris periculi laborisque merces sit,
 an si spem pro re ferentes² dimittant, iam semel in
 9 prima spe deceptos? Nam quod ad se attineat, sibi
 gloriae in omnem vitam illo die satis quaesitum esse,
 quo se virum optimum iudicatum ad accipiendam
 10 matrem Idaeam misisset senatus. Hoc titulo, etsi
 nec consulatus nec³ triumphus addatur, satis honestam
 honoratamque P. Scipionis Nasicae imaginem fore.
 11 Unversus senatus non ipse modo ad discernendum
 triumphum consensit, sed etiam tribunum plebis
 auctoritate sua compulit ad remittendam inter-
 cessionem. P. Cornelius consul triumphavit de Bois.
 In eo triumpho Gallicis carpentis arma signaque et
 spolia omnis generis travexit et vasa aenea Gallica

¹ quot cum 5: quot cum tot B.² ferentes ed. Frobeniana 1535: ferentibus B5.³ etsi nec consulatus nec 5: et sine consulatu ne B.

¹ If the text is sound, it means that more Gauls had fallen in this battle than the Boi had ever been able to put in the field in previous engagements.

² Cf. xxxviii. 6 above.³ Cf. xxxvi. 3 above and the note.

slain a greater number of thousands of Gauls in battle than any commander before him had ever fought with, at least so far as the Boii were concerned.¹ More than half of their fifty thousand men were killed,² many thousands captured; old men and boys only were now left to the Boii. Could anyone then wonder why a victorious army, since it left no enemy in the province, should come to Rome to celebrate the triumph of the consul? If the senate wished to use the assistance of these soldiers in another province also, in which way, pray, would it believe them to be more ready to meet another danger and new toil, if without any objection the reward had been paid them for their previous danger and toil, or if they sent them away with hope in place of reality, when they had once been deceived as to their original expectation? So far as he personally was concerned, he had won sufficient glory for his whole life on that day when the senate had judged him the best man and sent him to receive the Idaean Mother.³ From that one inscription, even if no consulship or triumph were added, the *imago*⁴ of Publius Scipio Nasica would have enough of honour and regard. The entire senate of its own accord not only agreed to vote the triumph but by its influence compelled the tribune to withdraw his veto. Publius Cornelius while consul triumphed over the Boii. In that triumph he transported in Gallic carts arms and standards and spoils of every description and Gallic vases of bronze, and

⁴ A Roman house had a special room set aside for the *imagines* or masks of distinguished ancestors. To each was attached a tablet (*titulus*) listing the offices each man had held and the other honours he had won.

A.U.C.
563

- et cum captivis nobilibus equorum quoque captorum
 12 gregem traduxit. Aureos torques transtulit mille
 quadringentos septuaginta unum, ad hoc auri pondo
 ducenta quadraginta septem, argenti infecti factique
 in Gallicis vasis, non infabre suo more factis, duo milia
 trecenta quadraginta pondo, bigatorum nummorum
 13 ducenta triginta quattuor. Militibus qui currum
 secuti sunt centenos videnos quinos asses divisit,
 14 duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. Postero die
 contione advocata de rebus ab se gestis et de iniuria
 tribuni bello alieno se illigantis, ut suae victoriae
 fructu se fraudaret, cum disseruisset, milites ex-
 auctoratos dimisit.

XLI. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Antiochus
 Ephesi securus admodum de bello Romano erat tam-
 quam non transituris in Asiam Romanis; quam secu-
 ritate ei magna pars amicorum aut per errorem aut
 2 adsentando faciebat. Hannibal unus, cuius eo tem-
 pore vel maxima¹ apud regem auctoritas erat, magis
 mirari se aiebat, quod non iam in Asia essent Romani,
 3 quam venturos dubitare²; propius esse ex Graecia in
 Asiam quam ex Italia in Graeciam traicere, et multo
 maiorem causam Antiochum quam Aetolos esse;
 neque enim mari minus quam terra pollere Romana
 4 arma. Iam pridem classem circa Maleam esse;
 audire sese nuper novas naves novumque impera-

¹ vel maxima ζ : ut maxima B.

² dubitare ed. Frobeniana 1535: dubitabat B ζ .

¹ This is said to be the first Gallic triumph in which no
 copper coins were displayed: cf. XXXIII. xxxvii. 11.

² The narrative continues from xxi. 1 above. Antiochus
 seems to have paid little attention to the Aetolian appeal in

along with prisoners of high rank a herd of captured s.o. 191
 horses. He carried also golden necklaces to the num-
 ber of one thousand four hundred and seventy-one,
 and besides he had two hundred and forty-seven
 pounds of gold, of silver, unwrought and wrought
 in Gallic vases, not unskilfully, in their manner, two
 thousand three hundred and forty pounds, of coins
 stamped with the two-horse chariot, two hundred and
 thirty-four thousand.¹ To the soldiers who followed
 his car he gave one hundred and twenty-five *asses* to
 each infantryman, twice that sum to each centurion
 and thrice to each cavalryman. The next day he
 called an assembly, and when he had spoken of his
 achievements and of the injury done by the tribune
 who tried to entangle him in another's war, in order
 to cheat him of the fruits of his victory, he absolved
 his soldiers of their oaths and discharged them.

XLI. While this was going on in Italy, Antiochus²
 at Ephesus was quite free from concern as to the
 Roman war, on the ground that the Romans would
 not cross to Asia; and this sense of security was
 given to him by most of his friends either through
 error or in flattery. Hannibal alone, whose influence
 with the king was at that time perhaps at its greatest,
 said that he was more surprised that the Romans
 were not already in Asia than doubtful that they
 would come; it was a shorter crossing from Greece
 to Asia than from Italy to Greece, and Antiochus
 was a far more powerful motive than the Aetolians;
 nor were Roman arms less powerful on sea than
 land. For a long time their fleet had been around
 Malea; he had recently heard that a new fleet and a

chap. xxvi; perhaps he had heard of their subsequent
 fortunes.

A.U.C.
563

5 torem rei gerendae causa ex Italia venisse; itaque desineret Antiochus pacem sibi ipse spe vana facere. In Asia et de ipsa Asia brevi terra marique dimicandum ei¹ cum Romanis esse, et aut imperium adimendum orbem terrarum adfectantibus, aut ipsi regnum amittendum. Unus vera et providere et fideliter praedicere visus. Itaque ipse rex navibus quae paratae instructaeque erant Chersonesum petit, ut ea loca, si forte terra venirent Romani, 6 praesidiis firmaret; ceteram classem Polyxenidam parare et deducere iussit; speculatorias naves ad omnia exploranda circa insulas dimisit.

XLII. C. Livius praefectus Romanae classis, cum quinquaginta navibus tectis profectus ab Roma Neapolim, quo ab sociis eius orae convenire iusserat 2 apertas naves quae ex foedere debebantur, Siciliam inde petit fretoque Messanam praetervectus, cum sex Punicas naves ad auxilium missas accepisset et ab Reginis Locrisque et eiusdem iuris sociis debitas exegisset naves, lustrata classe ad Lacinium, altum petit. 3 Corcyram, quam primam Graeciae civitatum adiit, cum venisset, percunctatus de statu belli—necdum enim omnia in Graecia perpacata erant—et ubi 4 classis Romana esset, postquam audivit circa Thermopylarum saltum in statione consulem ac regem esse, classem Piraei stare, maturandum ratus omnium rerum causa, pergit protinus navigare Pelo-

¹ ei 5: et B.

¹ This must be Livius (xlii. 1 below), whose appointment to the fleet was noted at ii. 6 above.

² By a sacrifice to propitiate hostile powers.

³ The island also called Cephallania; also a city of the same name on that island.

new commander to carry on the war had come from B.C. 191 Italy;¹ Antiochus, then, should cease to seek peace for himself—a vain hope. In Asia and for Asia itself there would soon be war on land and sea between him and the Romans, and either the Romans, seeking dominion over the world, would lose it or he himself would lose his kingdom. He alone seemed both to foresee the truth and to declare it loyally. So the king himself, with the ships that were ready and equipped, set out for the Chersonesus to strengthen those regions with garrisons if perchance the Romans should come by land; the rest of the fleet he ordered Polyxenidas to refit and launch; scouting cruisers he sent among the islands to reconnoitre everywhere.

XLII. Gaius Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, sailed with fifty decked vessels from Rome to Naples, where he had ordered the allies along the coast to assemble the undecked ships which they owed under the treaty, then headed for Sicily and, passing Messina through the strait, picked up six Carthaginian ships sent to aid him, received from the people of Rhegium and Locri and the other allies of the same status the ships which he had demanded of them, and having purified² the fleet at Lacinium struck out into the deep. When he had arrived at Corcyra, the first city in Greece which he reached, he inquired as to the military situation—for everything was not yet quiet in Greece—and as to where the Roman fleet was, and when he heard that the consul and the king were watching one another near the pass of Thermopylae and that the fleet was at Piraeus, he thought that he should make haste for every reason, and straightway proceeded to sail around the Peloponnesus. Same³

A.U.C.
563

5 *ponnesum*. *Samen*¹ *Zacynthumque*, quia *pa-tis*
Aetolorum maluerant esse, protinus depopulatus
Maleam petit, et² prospera navigatione usus paucis
 6 diebus *Piraeum* ad veterem classem pervenit. Ad
Scyllaeum Eumenes rex cum tribus navibus occurrit,
 cum *Aeginae* diu incertus consilii fuisset, utrum ad
 tuendum rediret regnum—audiebat enim *Antio-*
chum Ephesi navales terrestresque parare copias—
 an nusquam abscederet ab *Romanis*, ex quorum
 7 fortuna sua penderet. A *Piraeo* *A. Atilius* traditis
 successori quinque et viginti navibus tectis *Romam*
 8 est profectus. *Livius* una et octoginta constratis³
 navibus, multis praeterea minoribus, quae aut
 apertae rostratae aut sine rostris speculatoria erant,
Delum traiecit.

XLIII. Eo fere tempore consul *Acilius Nau-*
pactum oppugnabat. *Livium Deli* per aliquot
 dies⁴—et est⁵ ventosissima regio inter *Cycladas*
fretis alias maioribus, alias minoribus divisas—
 2 adversi venti tenuerunt. *Polyxenidas* certior per
 dispositas speculatorias naves factus *Deli* stare *Ro-*
 3 manam classem, nuntios ad regem misit. Qui
 omissis quae in *Hellesponto* agebat cum rostratis
 navibus, quantum accelerare poterat, *Ephesum* redit
 et consilium extemplo habuit, faciendumne periculum
 4 navalis certaminis foret. *Polyxenidas* negabat ces-
 sandum et utique prius confligendum quam classis
Eumenis et *Rhodiae* naves coniungerentur *Romanis*;

¹ *Samen Sigonius*: tamen *B*: samum *M*.

² et ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: om. *B*.

³ constratis *Duker*: prostratis *B*: rostratis *Ϝ*.

⁴ *Deli* per aliquot dies ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: deliberanti
 quod dies *B*: deliberantem aliquot dies *Ϝ*.

⁵ et est *Ϝ*: est *B*.

and *Zacynthos*,¹ because they preferred to join the B.C. 191
Aetolian party, he at once plundered and then
 made for *Malea*, and enjoying a successful voyage
 after a few days he joined the old fleet at *Piraeus*.
 At *Scyllaeum* King *Eumenes* with three ships met
 him, after having long waited at *Aegina*, uncertain
 what to do, whether to go home to defend his own
 kingdom—for he kept hearing that *Antiochus* was at
Ephesus equipping his fleets and armies—or never to
 separate from the *Romans*, on whom his own fortunes
 depended. From *Piraeus* *Aulus Atilius* turned over
 to his successor twenty-five decked ships and re-
 turned to *Rome*. *Livius* with eighty-one decked
 ships and many smaller craft in addition, which were
 either open ships with beaks or scouting-vessels
 without beaks, crossed to *Delos*.

XLIII. At about this time the consul *Acilius* was
 besieging *Naupactus*. *Livius* was detained at *Delos*
 for several days by adverse winds, and indeed the
 region around the *Cyclades*, which are separated from
 one another, some by wider straits, some by narrower,
 is exceedingly windy. *Polyxenidas*, being informed
 by the vessels which had been sent to reconnoitre
 that the *Roman* fleet was delayed at *Delos*, sent
 messengers to the king. He, dropping everything
 he was doing at the *Hellespont*, returned with his
 beaked ships with all possible speed to *Ephesus* and
 at once held a council as to whether they should
 make trial of a naval battle. *Polyxenidas* main-
 tained that they should not delay, but should fight
 before the fleet of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodian* ships
 should join the *Romans*; thus they would be

¹ This happened before the negotiations reported in chap.
 xxxi above.

A.U.C.
563

5 ita numero non¹ ferme impares futuros se,² ceteris
omnibus superiores, et celeritate navium et varietate
6 auxiliorum. Nam Romanas naves cum³ ipsas inscite
factas immobiles esse, tum etiam, ut quae in terram
7 hostium veniant, oneratas commeatu venire; suas
autem, ut pacata omnia circa se relinquentes, nihil
praeter militem atque arma habituras. Multum
etiam adiuturam notitiam maris terrarumque et
ventorum, quae omnia ignaros turbatura hostes
8 essent. Movit omnes auctor consilii, qui et re con-
siliium exsecuturus erat. Biduum in apparatu morati
tertio die centum navibus, quarum septuaginta
tectae, ceterae apertae, minoris omnes formae erant,
9 profecti Phocaeam petierunt. Inde, cum audisset
appropinquare iam Romanam classem, rex, quia non
interfuturus navali certamini erat, Magnesiam, quae
ad Sipylum est, concessit ad terrestres copias com-
10 parandas; classis ad Cissuntem portum Erythrae-
orum, tamquam ibi aptius expectatura hostem, con-
11 tendit. Romani, ubi primum aquilones—ii⁴ namque
per aliquot dies tenuerant—cecidērunt,⁵ ab Delo
Phanas,⁶ portum Chiorum in Aegaeum mare versum,
petunt; inde ad urbem circumegere naves, com-
12 meatuque sumpto Phocaeam traiciunt. Eumenes
Elaeam ad suam classem profectus, paucis post inde
diebus cum quattuor et viginti navibus tectis, apertis
pluribus paulo Phocaeam ad Romanos parantes
13 instruētesque⁷ se ad navale certamen rediit. Inde

¹ non ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: om. *B*.² so ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: ipse *B*: ipsum ς .³ cum ς : om. *B*.⁴ ii ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: hi *B*: duo ς .⁵ tenuerant ceciderunt ς : ceciderant tenuerant *B*.⁶ ab Delo Phanas ς : ad bellophonas *B*.

practically equal in numbers, superior in everything B.C. 191
else, both in the speed of the ships and in the varied
character of their auxiliaries. For the Roman ships
were not only unskillfully constructed and hard to
move, but were also laden down with supplies, since
they were coming to a hostile country; but their
own ships, since they were leaving everything around
them peaceful, would carry nothing except soldiers
and arms. Their acquaintance with the sea, the lands
and the winds would also help greatly, and all these
would make trouble for an enemy unfamiliar with
them. The author of this advice, who would also
put the plan into effect, had weight with all. Delay-
ing two days in preparation, they set sail on the third
day with a hundred ships, all of smaller size, seventy
being decked, the rest open, and came to Phocaea.
When he had heard that a Roman fleet was approach-
ing, the king, since he did not intend to be present
at the naval battle, returned from there to Magnesia,
which is near Sipylus, to assemble his land forces;
the fleet made haste to Cissus, the harbour of the
Erythraei, as if it were more convenient to meet
the enemy there. As soon as the north winds
subsided—they had been blowing for several days—
the Romans stood out from Delos toward Phanae,
a harbour of the Chians facing the Aegean sea; there
they brought the fleet around to the city and after
taking on provisions crossed to Phocaea. Eumenes
went to his fleet at Elaëa and a few days later re-
turned to Phocaea with twenty-four decked ships
and a somewhat larger number of open vessels,
finding the Romans making themselves ready and
fit for a naval battle. Thence they set out with one

⁷ parantis instruētisque ς : paratis instructisque *B*.

A.U.C.
563

centum quinque¹ tectis navibus, apertis ferme quinquaginta profecti, primo aquilonibus transversis cum urgerentur in terram, cogeantur tenui agmine prope in ordinem singulae naves ire; deinde, ut lenita paulum vis venti est, ad Corycum portum, qui super Cissuntem est, conati sunt traicere.

XLIV. Polyxenidas, ut appropinquare hostes adlatum est, occasione pugnandi laetus sinistrum² ipse cornu in altum³ extendit, dextrum cornu praefectos navium ad terram explicare iubet, et aequa fronte ad⁴ pugnam procedebat. Quod ubi vidit Romanus, vela contrahit malosque inclinat et simul armamenta⁵ componens opperitur insequentes naves. Iam ferme triginta in fronte erant, quibus ut aequaret laevum cornu, dolonibus erectis altum petere intendit, iussis qui sequebantur adversus dextrum cornu prope⁶ terram proras derigere. Eumenes agmen cogeabat; ceterum, ut demendis armamentis tumultuari primum coeptum est, et ipse, quanta maxime celeritate potest, concitat naves. Iam omnibus in con-⁷ spectu erant. Duae Punicae naves antecedeabant Romanam classem, quibus obviae tres fuerunt regiae⁸ naves; et, ut in numero impari, duae regiae unam circumsistunt, et primum ab utroque latere remos detergunt,⁴ deinde transcendunt armati et deiectis⁷ caesisque propugnatoribus navem capiunt; una, quae⁵ pari Marte concurrerat, postquam captam alteram navem vidit, priusquam ab tribus simul⁸ circumveniretur, retro ad classem refugit. Livius

¹ centum quinque *Perizonius* : centum quinquaginta 5 : CL. B.

² sinistrum 5 : sinistro B.

³ in altum 5 : impetum B.

⁴ detergunt *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: defringunt B5.

hundred and five decked ships and about fifty open vessels, and when at first they were driven towards the shore by north winds blowing across their course, the ships were compelled to proceed in a thin column, almost in single file; then when the violence of the wind moderated a little they tried to cross to the harbour of Corycus, which is above Cissus.

XLIV. Polyxenidas, when the news was brought that the enemy was coming, rejoicing at the opportunity of fighting, himself drew the left wing out into the open sea, ordered the ship-captains to extend the right flank towards the land, and advanced to the fight in a regular line. When the Roman saw this he took in sail, lowered his masts and at the same time stowing his tackle he awaited the oncoming ships. There were now about thirty of his ships in front, and in order to bring his left wing into line with them, hoisting his top-sails he tried to get out into deep water, ordering the following ships, opposing the enemy's right wing, to steer towards the shore. Eumenes was in the rear, but as soon as he saw the confusion caused by clearing for action he too urged his ships forward at their utmost speed. Now they were in sight of all. Two Carthaginian ships were ahead of the Roman fleet, and three ships of the king encountered them; and, their numbers being unequal, two of the king's ships attacked one, and first they sheared off the oars on both sides, then armed men boarded it, and throwing overboard and killing the defenders, took the ship; the one which was fighting in equal combat, when it saw that the other ship was taken, fled to the fleet before it should be surrounded by three. Livius, inflamed with passion, made for

⁵ quae *edd. vet.* : cum B.

A.U.C.
563

indignatione accensus praetoria nave in hostes tendit. Adversus quam¹ eadem spe duae quae Punicam unam navem circumvenerant cum inferrentur, demittere remos in aquam ab utroque latere remiges stabiliendae navis causa iussit, et in advenientes hostium naves
9 ferreas manus inicere et, ubi pugnam pedestri similem fecissent, meminisse Romanae virtutis nec pro viris ducere regia mancipia. Haud paulo facilius quam ante duae unam, tunc una duas naves expugnavit cepitque. Et iam classes quoque undique² concurrerant, et passim permixtis navibus pugna-
11 batur. Eumenes, qui extremus commisso certamine advenerat, ut animadvertit laevum cornu hostium ab Livio turbatum, dextrum ipse ubi aequa pugna erat invadit.

XLV. Neque ita multo post primum ab laevo cornu fuga coepit.³ Polyxenidas enim ut virtute militum haud dubie se superari vidit, sublatis dolonibus effuse fugere intendit; mox idem et qui prope terram cum Eumene contraxerant certamen fecerunt.
2 Romani et Eumenes, quoad sufficere remiges potuerunt et in spe erant extremi agminis vexandi,
3 satis pertinaciter secuti sunt. Postquam celeritate navium, utpote levium, suas commeatu onustas eludi frustra tendentes viderunt, tandem abstiterunt tredecim captis navibus cum milite ac remige, decem
4 demersis. Romanae classis una Punica navis, in primo certamine ab duabus circumventa, periit.

¹ quam *ed. Veneta* 1495: quem *B*γ.² quoque undique *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: undique quoque *B*: undique γ.³ fuga coepit *edd. vett.*: fugam fecit *B*γ.

the enemy with the flagship. When the two which B.C. 191 had just surrounded the Carthaginian ship came up, hoping to repeat their tactics, he ordered the rowers on both sides to trail their oars in the water to steady the ship and the men to throw iron grappling-hooks upon the approaching hostile ships, and when they had made the engagement like one on land, he bade them remember Roman valour and not to consider the king's slaves as men. With greater ease than the two had captured one before, the one ship at this time defeated and captured two. And now the fleets had clashed everywhere and with the ships intermingled the battle was raging on every side. Eumenes, who had arrived late, when the battle had already begun, seeing that the left wing of the enemy had been thrown into confusion by Livius, himself attacked their right, where the battle was evenly matched.

XLV. And not long after the flight began on the left flank. For when Polyxenidas saw that without question he was inferior in the courage of his soldiers, raising his top-sails he began a hurried flight; presently even those who had joined battle with Eumenes near the shore did the same. The Romans and Eumenes, so long as the rowers could hold out and there was any hope of harassing the rear, pursued with stubbornness enough. But when, after vain efforts, they saw that the enemy's ships, which were sailing light, were by their swiftness escaping their own, which were laden with supplies, they at length ceased, having captured thirteen ships along with their marines and rowers, and sunk ten. Of the Roman fleet, the one Carthaginian ship which, at the beginning of the battle, had been surrounded by two, was lost.

A.U.C.
563

Polyxenidas non prius quam in portu Ephesi fugae
 5 finem fecit. Romani eo die, unde egressa regia
 classis erat, manserunt; postero die hostem persequi
 intenderunt. Medio fere in cursu obviae fuere iis
 quinque et viginti¹ tectae Rhodiae naves cum Pausis-
 6 trato praefecto classis. His adiunctis Ephesum
 hostem persecuti ante ostium portus acie instructa
 steterunt. Postquam confessionem victis satis ex-
 presserunt, Rhodii et Eumenes domos dimissi;
 7 Romani Chium petentes, Phoenicuntem primum
 portum Erythraeae terrae praetervecti, nocte ancoris
 iactis, postero die in insulam ad ipsam urbem traie-
 cerunt. Ubi paucos dies remige maxime reficiendo
 8 morati Phocaeam tramittunt. Ibi relictis ad prae-
 sidium urbis quattuor quinquereibus ad Canas
 classis venit; et, cum iam hiems appeteret, fossa
 valloque circumdatis naves subductae.
 9 Exitu anni comitia Romae habita, quibus creati
 sunt consules L. Cornelius Scipio et C. Laelius—
 Africanum intuentibus cunctis—ad finiendum cum
 Antiocho bellum. Postero die praetores creati M.
 Tuccius L. Aurunculeius Cn. Fulvius L. Aemilius
 P. Iunius C. Atinius Labeo.

¹ iis quinque et viginti 5: his quique et XXX B.

Polyxenidas did not stop his flight until he reached ^{B.C. 191} the harbour of Ephesus. The Romans on that day remained at the place from which the king's fleet had come; the next day they set out to pursue the enemy. About half-way on the journey twenty-five decked Rhodian ships under Pausistratus, commander of the fleet, met them. Thus reinforced, they followed the enemy to Ephesus and stood drawn up in line of battle before the entrance to the harbour. Now that they had wrung a confession of inferiority from the defeated, the Rhodians and Eumenes were sent home; the Romans on their way to Chios first sailed past Phoenicus, the port of the Erythraean land, and at nightfall dropped anchor; the next day they crossed to the island and to the city itself. There they delayed a few days resting their rowers, and then crossed to Phocaea. Leaving four quinqueremes there as a garrison for the city, the fleet came to Canae; and since winter was now at hand, the ships were beached and surrounded with a wall and ditch.

At the end of the year the elections were held in Rome, at which Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Gaius Laelius—all looking towards Africanus¹—were chosen consuls to end the war with Antiochus. The next day the praetors were elected, Marcus Tuccius, Lucius Aurunculeius, Gnaeus Fulvius, Lucius Aemilius, Publius Junius, Gaius Atinius Labeo.

¹ Lucius Scipio was the brother and Laelius the closest friend of Scipio Africanus.

LIBRI XXXVI PERIOCHA

ACILIUS GLABRIO consul Antiochum ad Thermopylas Philippo rege adiuvante victum Graecia expulit idemque Aetolos subegit. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica consul aedem Matris Deum quam ipse in Palatium intulerat, vir optinus a senatu iudicatus, dedicavit. Idemque ¹ Boios Gallos victos in deditionem accepti, de his triumphavit. Praeterea navalia certamina prospera adversus praefectos Antiochi regis referuntur.

¹ idemque *Rossbach*: itemque *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXVI

ACILIUS GLABRIO the consul, with the aid of King Philip, defeated Antiochus at Thermopylae and drove him from Greece, and also subdued the Aetolians. Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica the consul dedicated the temple of the Mother of the Gods, whom he himself had established on the Palatine, after being adjudged the best man by the senate. He also received the surrender of the Gallic Boii after their defeat, and triumphed over them. Besides, naval victories over the officers of Antiochus are recorded.

BOOK XXXVII

LIBER XXXVII

A. U. C.
664

I. L. CORNELIO SCIPIONE C. LAELIO consulibus nulla prius secundum religiones acta in senatu res est quam de Aetolis. Et legati eorum institerunt, quia brevem indutiarum diem habebant, et ab T. Quinctio, qui tum Romam ex Graecia redierat, adiuti sunt. Aetoli, ut quibus plus in misericordia senatus quam in causa spei esset, suppliciter egerunt, veteribus benefactis nova pensantes maleficia. Ceterum et praesentes interrogationibus undique senatorum, confessionem magis noxae quam responsa exprimentium,¹ fatigati sunt, et excedere curia iussi magnum certamen prae buerunt. Plus ira quam misericordia in causa eorum valebat, quia non ut hostibus² sed tamquam indomitae et insociabili genti suscensebant. Per aliquot dies cum certatum esset, postremo neque dari neque negari pacem placuit; duae condiciones iis latae sunt: vel senatui liberum arbitrium³ de se permitterent, vel mille talentum darent eosdemque⁴ amicos atque inimicos haberent. Exprimere cupientibus, quarum rerum

¹ exprimentium 5: experimentum B.

² hostibus 5: hostes B.

³ arbitrium 5: om. B.

⁴ eosdemque ed. Parisina 1518: eosque B5.

¹ The latter would technically make them *socii*, though in a relation of dependency; this was one of the conditions imposed in 189 B.C. (XXXVIII. viii. 10).

BOOK XXXVII

I. LUCIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO and Gaius Laelius B.C. 190 entered upon the consulship, and after the religious observances were carried out, no question in the senate had priority over that concerning the Aetolians. And their ambassadors were urging a decision, since only a brief time of truce was allowed them, and they were seconded by Titus Quinctius, who had now returned to Rome from Greece. The Aetolians, like men who reposed more hope in the mercy of the senate than in their own case, pleaded like suppliants, balancing former services against recent misdeeds. But not only while still present were they pursued by senatorial questionings from all sides, forcing from them confessions of guilt rather than replies, but when they were ordered to leave the senate-house they gave occasion to a violent conflict. Anger had greater weight in their case than the spirit of mercy, since the senators were incensed at them not as enemies but as an untamable and anti-social people. When the contest had continued for many days, it was finally decided that peace should be neither granted nor refused; two choices were placed before them; either they should entrust themselves to the free discretion of the senate, or they should pay one thousand talents and consider the same peoples as friends and enemies.¹ When they tried to elicit a definite statement as to

A.U.C.
564

in se arbitrium senatui permetterent, nihil certi responsum est. Ita infecta pace dimissi urbe eodem die, Italia intra quindecim dies excedere iussi.

- 7 Tum de consulum provinciis coeptum agi est. Ambo Graeciam cupiebant. Multum Laelius in senatu poterat. Is, cum senatus aut sortiri aut comparare inter se¹ provincias consules iussisset, elegantius facturos dixit,² si iudicio patrum quam si
8 sorti eam rem permisissent. Scipio responso ad hoc dato cogitaturum, quid sibi faciendum esset, cum fratre uno locutus iussusque ab eo permittere audacter senatui, renuntiat collegae facturum se, quod is
9 censeret. Cum res aut nova aut vetustate exemplorum memoriae iam exoletae relata expectatione certaminis senatum erexisset, P. Scipio Africanus dixit, si L. Scipioni fratri suo provinciam Graeciam³
10 decrevissent, se ei legatum⁴ iturum. Haec vox magno adsensu audita sustulit certamen; experiri libebat utrum plus regi Antiocho in Hannibale victo an in victore Africano consuli legionibusque Romanis auxilii foret; ac prope omnes Scipioni Graeciam, Laelio Italiam decreverunt.

¹ inter se ς : om. B.

² dixit ς : iussit B.

³ graeciam ς : om. B.

⁴ ei legatum Duker: legatum B ς .

¹ In XXXVI. xxii. 8 ff. the Aetolians discovered that Roman and Greek interpretations of diplomatic phraseology differed, and wanted to know what *liberum arbitrium* could mean. The acceptance of the first proposal in its extreme form might amount to a complete surrender.

² This put Africanus in a difficult position, with his brother and his friend rivals for the same appointment.

the extent to which the senate would exercise its discretion¹ over them, no positive reply was given. So without any settlement they were ordered to leave the City that same day and Italy within fifteen days.

Then the question of the consular provinces began to be discussed. Both consuls wanted Greece.² Laelius was very influential in the senate. Laelius, when the senate had directed the consuls either to cast lots or to determine the matter of the provinces between themselves, said that they would act more fittingly if they entrusted this decision to the wisdom of the Fathers instead of to the lot. Scipio, having replied to this that he would consider what he ought to do, conferred with his brother alone, and being instructed by him to leave the matter to the senate with confidence, answered his colleague that he would do as he suggested. When this proposal, either novel or revived on the basis of ancient precedents long escaped from memory, had excited the senate with the expectation of a sharp contest, Publius Scipio Africanus said that if they should decree Greece as a province to his brother Lucius Scipio, he would go as his lieutenant.³ These words, listened to with full approbation, ended the contest; they wanted to ascertain whether King Antiochus would find more powerful assistance in the defeated Hannibal or the Roman consul and legions in his conqueror Africanus: and almost unanimously they decreed Greece to Scipio, Italy to Laelius.

² Africanus probably thought that he could serve with better grace as *legatus* under his brother than under the friend who had been his own *legatus* in Africa. Other versions are found in Cicero (*Philippic* XI. 17; *Murena* 32) and elsewhere.

A.U.C.
564

II. Praetores inde provincias sortiti sunt, L. Aurunculeius urbanam, Cn. Fulvius peregrinam,¹ L. Aemilius Regillus classem, P. Iunius Brutus Tuscos, M. Tuccius² Apuliam et Bruttios, C. Atinius³ Siciliam. Consuli deinde, cui Graecia provincia decreta erat, ad eum exercitum, quem a M'. Acilio—duae autem legiones erant—accepturus esset, in supplementum addita peditum civium Romanorum⁴ tria milia, equites centum, et socium Latini nominis quinque milia, equites ducenti; et adiectum ut, cum in provinciam venisset, si e re publica videretur esse, exercitum in Asiam traiceret. Alteri consuli totus novus exercitus decretus, duae legiones Romanae et socium Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum, equites sexcenti. Exercitum ex Liguribus Q. Minucius⁵—iam enim confectam provinciam scripserat et Ligurum omne nomen in deditionem venisse⁶—traducere in Boios et P. Cornelio proconsuli tradere iussus ex agro, quo victos⁷ bello multaverat, Boios deducendi.⁸ Duae urbanae legiones, quae⁸ priore anno conscriptae erant, M. Tuccio praetori datae et socium ac Latini nominis peditum quindecim milia

¹ Cn. Fulvius peregrinam *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: m. fulvius peregrinam *B*: *om.* ζ .

² Tuccius *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: bruttius *B* ζ : tutius *M*.

³ Romanorum ζ : *om.* *B*.

⁴ Q. Minucius *edd. vet.*: \bar{q} *B*: p. minucius ζ .

⁵ venisse ζ : venisset *B*.

⁶ uictos ζ : uictus *B*.

⁷ deducendi *H. J. Müller*: deducendae *B* ζ .

⁸ quae ζ : *om.* *B*.

¹ This statement is inconsistent with that in XXXVI. xiv. 1.

² Cf. XXXVI. xxxix. 3.

II. The praetors then drew for their provinces; B.C. 190 Lucius Aurunculeius receiving the civil jurisdiction, Gnaeus Fulvius that between citizens and aliens, Lucius Aemilius Regillus the fleet, Publius Junius Brutus the Etruscans, Marcus Tuccius Apulia and the Brutti, Gaius Atinius Sicily. Then for the consul to whom the province of Greece had been decreed, in addition to the army which he would take over from Manius Acilius—this now consisted of two legions¹—there were authorized as reinforcements three thousand infantry of Roman citizens and one hundred cavalry, and of the allies of the Latin confederacy five thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry; it was also appended to this that when he arrived in the province, if the public interest seemed to demand it, he should lead the army over into Asia. To the other consul an entirely new army was assigned, two Roman legions and of the allies of the Latin confederacy fifteen thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. Quintus Minucius was directed to transfer his army from the Ligures—for he had now written that the province had been completely reduced and that all the people of the Ligures had surrendered—to the territory of the Boii and hand it over to Publius Scipio the proconsul, who was removing the Boii from the land of which he had deprived them after their defeat in the war.² The two reserve legions³ which had been enlisted the year before were assigned to Marcus Tuccius, along with fifteen thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy, to

¹ This statement is inconsistent with that in XXXVI. i. 9; like that in sect. 2 above, it is probably derived from a different annalistic source.

A.U.C.
564

et equites sexcenti ad Apuliam Bruttiosque obtinen-
 7 dos. A. Cornelio superioris anni praetori, qui Brut-
 tios cum exercitu obtinuerat, imperatum, si ita
 consuli videretur, ut legiones in Aetoliam traiectas
 8 M'. Acilio traderet, si is manere ibi vellet; si Acilius
 redire Romam mallet, ut A. Cornelius cum eo
 exercitu in Aetolia remaneret. C. Atinium Labeo-
 nem provinciam Siciliam exercitumque a M. Aemilio¹
 accipere placuit et in supplementum scribere ex ipsa
 provincia, si vellet, peditum duo milia et centum
 9 equites. P. Iunius Brutus in Tuscos exercitum
 novum, legionem unam Romanam et decem milia
 socium ac Latini nominis scribere et quadringentos
 10 equites; L. Aemilius, cui maritima provincia erat,
 viginti naves longas et socios navales a M. Iunio
 praetore superioris anni accipere iussus et scribere
 ipse mille navales socios, duo milia peditum; cum iis
 navibus militibusque in Asiam proficisci et classem a
 11 C. Livio accipere. Duas Hispanias Sardiniamque
 obtinentibus prorogatum in annum imperium est et
 12 idem exercitus decreti. Siciliae Sardiniaeque binae
 aequae ac proximo anno² decumae frumenti im-
 peratae; Siculum omne frumentum in Aetoliam ad
 exercitum portari iussum, ex Sardinia pars Romam
 pars in Aetoliam, eodem quo Siculum.

III. Priusquam consules in provincias proficisce-
 rentur, prodigia per pontifices procurari placuit.

¹ a M. Aemilio *ed. Aldina*: ab l. aemilio *B5*.

² aequae ac proximo anno *Madvig*: eo anno *B5*: eaeque
 proximae *M*.

¹ Cf. XXXVI. ii. 2.

² Livy says nothing about Valerius (XXXVI. ii. 11), who
 had shared the responsibility for Sicily.

hold Apulia and the Brutti. Aulus Cornelius,¹ a.c. 190
 praetor of the preceding year, who had held the
 Brutti with an army, was ordered to transport the
 legions to Aetolia, if such was the pleasure of the
 consul, and turn them over to Manius Acilius, if
 he wished to remain there; if Acilius preferred to
 return to Rome, Aulus Cornelius with this army
 should remain in Aetolia. Gaius Atinius Labeo,
 it was decided, should receive the province of Sicily
 and the army from Marcus Aemilius² the praetor
 and as reinforcements should enrol from the province
 itself two thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry.
 Publius Junius Brutus was instructed to enlist a new
 army to serve against the Etruscans, one Roman
 legion and ten thousand infantry and four hundred
 cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy;
 Lucius Aemilius, to whom the maritime province
 had been allotted, was ordered to receive twenty
 warships and the naval allies from Marcus Junius,
 praetor of the previous year, to enrol himself a
 thousand naval allies and two thousand marines,
 to proceed with these ships and troops to Asia and
 to take over the fleet from Gaius Livius. For the
 governors of the two Spains and Sardinia the *imperium*
 was prolonged for a year and the same armies
 assigned. Two tithes of grain, just as in the pre-
 ceding year,³ were levied upon Sicily and Sardinia;
 they ordered all the Sicilian grain to be transported to
 Aetolia, part of the Sardinian to Rome and part to
 Aetolia, the same destination as the Sicilian.

III. Before the consuls set out to their provinces
 it was decreed that expiation should be made for
 the prodigies by direction of the pontiffs. At Rome

³ Cf. XXXVI. ii. 12-13.

A.U.C.
564

2 Romae Iunonis Lucinae templum de caelo tactum
 erat ita ut fastigium valvaeque deformarentur;
 Puteolis pluribus locis murus et porta fulmine icta
 3 et duo homines exanimati; Nursiae sereno satis
 constabat nimbium ortum; ibi quoque duos liberos
 homines exanimatos; terra apud se pluvisse Tuscu-
 lani nuntiabant, et Reatini mulam in agro suo
 4 peperisse. Ea procurata, Latinaeque instauratae,
 quod Laurentibus pars carnis¹ quae dari debet data
 5 non fuerat. Supplicatio quoque earum religionum
 causa fuit quibus diis decemviri ex libris ut fieret
 6 ediderunt. Decem ingenui, decem virgines, patrimi
 omnes matrimique, ad id sacrificium adhibiti, et de-
 cemviri nocte lactentibus rem divinam fecerunt.
 7 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, priusquam proficiscere-
 tur, fornicem in Capitolio adversus viam qua in Capi-
 tolium escenditur, cum signis septem auratis et
 equis duobus et marmorea duo labra ante fornicem
 posuit.
 8 Per eosdem² dies principes Aetolorum tres et
 quadraginta, inter quos Damocritus et frater eius
 erant, ab duabus cohortibus missis a M'. Acilio
 Romam deducti et in Lautumias coniecti sunt.
 Cohortes inde ad exercitum redire L. Cornelius
 9 consul iussit. Legati ab Ptolomaeo et Cleopatra
 regibus Aegypti gratulantes, quod M'. Acilius consul
 Antiochum regem Graecia expulisset, venerunt

¹ pars carnis *Madvig*: carinis *B.* ² eosdem *5*: eos *B.*

¹ Cf. XXXII. i. 9 and the note for a similar occurrence.

² The present is used probably because the right still existed in Livy's time.

³ Cf. XXXII. xxvi. 17.

⁴ The sister of the king, here Cleopatra, by Egyptian custom and law, shared in the administration: hence *reges*.

the temple of Juno Lucina was struck by lightning B.C. 190
 so that the roof and the doors were damaged; at
 Puteoli the wall and gates in several places were
 struck by lightning and two men were killed; at
 Nursia it was well established that a storm-cloud
 came in sight on a clear day; there also two free
 men were killed; the people of Tusculum reported
 that in their neighbourhood there was a shower of
 earth, and the Reatini that in their country a mule
 had foaled. When expiation for all this had been
 made, the Latin festival,¹ too, because the share of
 the meat which is² due to be given to the Laurentes
 was not given them, was repeated. There was also
 a period of prayer by reason of these phenomena to
 whatever gods the decemvirs, in accordance with the
 Books, had ordered supplication to be made. Ten
 noble youths and ten maidens, all children of living
 fathers and mothers, were employed for this sacrifice,
 and the decemvirs by night sacrificed animals not yet
 weaned. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before
 he left the City, constructed an arch on the Capitoline,
 facing the street by which one climbs the Capitoline,
 with seven statues of bronze and two equestrian
 figures and two marble basins before the arch.

About the same time forty-three chiefs of the
 Aetolians, among whom were Damocritus and his
 brother, were brought to Rome under guard of
 two cohorts sent by Manius Acilius and were thrown
 into the *Lautumiae*.³ The cohorts were then directed
 by Lucius Cornelius the consul to rejoin the army.
 Ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra,⁴ rulers
 of Egypt, came with congratulations because Manius
 Acilius the consul had driven King Antiochus out
 of Greece, and with recommendations that they

A.U.O.
564

adhortantesque, ut in Asiam exercitum traicerent:
 10 omnia perculsa metu non in Asia modo sed etiam
 in Syria esse; reges Aegypti ad ea, quae censuisset
 11 senatus, paratos fore. Gratiae regibus actae; legatis
 munera dari iussa in singulos quaternum milium aeris.

IV. L. Cornelius consul peractis quae Romae
 agenda erant, pro contione edixit ut milites, quos
 ipse in supplementum scripsisset, quique in Bruttis
 cum A. Cornelio propraetore essent, ut hi omnes idi-
 2 bus Quinctilibus Brundisium convenirent. Item tres
 legatos nominavit, Sex. Digitium L. Apustium C.
 Fabricium Luscium, qui ex ora maritima undique
 naves Brundisium contraherent; et omnibus iam
 3 paratis paludatus¹ ab urbe est profectus. Ad
 quinque milia voluntariorum, Romani sociique, qui
 emerita stipendia sub imperatore P. Africano habe-
 bant, praesto fuere exeunti consuli et nomina de-
 4 derunt. Per eos dies, quibus est profectus ad bellum
 consul, ludis Apollinaribus, a. d. quintum² idus
 Quinctiles caelo sereno interdiu obscurata lux est,
 5 cum luna sub orbem³ solis subisset. Et L. Aemilius

¹ paludatus 5: paludatis B.

² ante diem quintum *edd. vet.*: ad quintum B5.

³ orbem *Weissenborn*: urbe B: orbe B (*ex corr.*) 5.

¹ Livy uses the old name of the month, *Quinctilis*, which was in his time called *Iulius* in honour of Caesar.

² Their status was that of *evocati*, reservists called to active duty, which gave them certain special privileges.

³ These games, celebrated in honour of Apollo, were held annually in July.

⁴ This eclipse, according to modern calculations, occurred March 14, 190 B.C. The Roman calendar was then out of adjustment to the extent indicated by these dates (March 14-July 11). The usual remedy was to insert an extra (intercalary) month between February and March, of such length

should transport the army into Asia: everything was B.C. 190
 in a confusion of terror, they said, not only in Asia
 but even in Syria; the rulers of Egypt were prepared
 for whatever the senate might order. Thanks were
 extended to the rulers; each of the ambassadors
 received, in accordance with orders issued, a present
 of four thousand *asses*.

IV. Lucius Cornelius the consul, having finished
 what had to be done in Rome, issued his edict
 before the assembly that the soldiers whom he
 personally had enlisted as reinforcements and those
 who were among the Brutti with Aulus Cornelius
 the propraetor should all assemble on the Ides of
 July¹ at Brundisium. He named also three lieuten-
 ants, Sextus Digitius, Lucius Apustius and Gaius
 Fabricius Luscium, who were to collect ships at Brun-
 disium from all along the sea-coast; and having now
 made everything ready set out from the City in
 uniform. About five thousand volunteers, Romans
 and allies, who had earned their discharges under
 the command of Publius Africanus, attended the
 consul as he was setting out and gave in their names
 for service with him.² About the time the consul
 departed to the war, during the *ludi Apollinares*,³ on
 the fifth day before the Ides of July, in a clear sky
 during the day, the light was dimmed since the moon
 passed before the circle of the sun.⁴ Lucius Aemilius

as to bring the solstitial and equinoctial periods to the proper
 calendar dates. The effects of such dislocations upon Livy's
 treatment of chronology have been frequently pointed out
 in the notes: cf. xxxvii. 6 below.

This particular date is rejected by Beloch (*Klio* XV, 1918,
 391 ff.; XXII, 1929, 464 ff.) on various grounds, among them
 the fact that it places the battle of Magnesia at a time incon-
 sistent with the narrative of Polybius.

A.U.C.
564

Regillus, cui navalis provincia evenerat, eodem tempore profectus est. L. Aurunculeio negotium ab senatu datum est ut triginta quinqueremes, viginti triremes faceret, quia fama erat Antiochum post proelium navale maiorem classem aliquanto reparare.

- 6 Aetoli, postquam legati ab Roma rettulerunt nullam spem pacis esse, quamquam omnis ora maritima eorum, quae in Peloponnesum versa est, depopulata ab Achaeis erat, periculi magis quam damni memores, ut Romanis intercluderent iter, Coracem occupaverunt montem; neque enim dubitabant ad oppugnationem Naupacti eos principio veris redituros esse. Acilio, quia id expectari sciebat, satius visum est inopinatam¹ aggredi rem et Lamiam oppugnare; nam et a Philippo prope ad excidium adductos esse, et tunc eo ipso, quod nihil tale timerent, opprimi incautos posse. Profectus ab Elatia primum in hostium terra circa Spercheum amnem posuit castra; inde nocte motis signis prima luce corona moenia est aggressus.

V. Magnus pavor ac tumultus, ut in re improvisa, fuit. Constantius tamen, quam quis facturos crederet, in tam subito periculo, cum viri propugnarent, feminae tela omnis generis saxaque in muros gerebant, iam multifariam scalis apposisit urbem eo die 2 defenderunt. Acilius signo receptui dato² suos in

¹ inopinatam ς : opinatam *B*.

² dato ς : om. *B*.

¹ Cf. XXXVI. xliii-xlv.

² Cf. XXXVI. xxx. 4.

³ Cf. XXXVI. xxx; xxxv.

⁴ Cf. XXXVI. xxv. 8.

Regillus, to whom the naval appointment had fallen, B.C. 190 also departed at the same time. Lucius Aurunculeius was entrusted by the senate with the task of building thirty quinqueremes and twenty triremes, since the rumour was that Antiochus after the naval battle was fitting out a very much larger fleet.¹

The Aetolians, after their ambassadors had brought back the word from Rome that there was no hope for peace, although their whole coast which faces the Peloponnesus had been ravaged by the Achaeans, thinking more of their danger than of their losses, in order to bar the road against the Romans, seized Mount Corax;² for they had no doubt that they would return at the beginning of spring to besiege Naupactus.³ Acilius, because he knew that this was their expectation, thought it better to try something unforeseen and to attack Lamia;⁴ for the people had both been brought nigh to destruction by Philip and, just because at that time they feared nothing of the kind, he thought that they could be more easily taken by surprise. Setting out from Elatia he first encamped in hostile territory near the Spercheus river; thence he moved his standards by night and at daybreak attacked the walls from a girdle of entrenchments.

V. There was great panic and excitement, as is natural when something unexpected occurs. Nevertheless, with greater resolution than one would think they would display in such a sudden peril, while the men fought before the walls and the women were carrying weapons of all kinds and stones to the walls, though scaling ladders were now being brought up on all sides, they defended the city on that day. Acilius sounded the recall and led his troops back into

A.U.C.
564

castra medio ferme die reduxit; et tunc cibo et quiete refectis corporibus, priusquam praetorium dimitteret, denunciavit ut ante lucem armati paratique essent; nisi expugnata urbe se eos in castra non 3 reducturum. Eodem tempore quo¹ pridie, pluribus locis aggressus, cum oppidanos iam vires, iam tela, iam ante omnia animus deficeret, intra paucas horas urbem cepit. Ibi partim divendita partim divisa praeda, consilium habitum, quid deinde faceret. 4 Nemini ad Naupactum iri placuit occupato ad Coracem ab Aetolis saltu. Ne tamen segnia aestiva essent et Aetoli non impetratam pacem ab senatu nihilo minus per suam cunctationem haberent,² 5 oppugnare Acilius Amphissam statuit. Ab Heraclea per Oetam exercitus eo deductus. Cum ad moenia castra posuisset, non corona, sicut Lamiam, sed operibus oppugnare urbem est adortus. Pluribus simul locis aries admovebatur, et cum quaterentur muri, nihil adversus tale machinationis genus parare 6 aut comminisci³ oppidani conabantur; omnis spes in armis et audacia erat; eruptionibus crebris et stationes hostium et eos ipsos, qui circa opera et machinas⁴ erant, turbabant.⁵

VI. Multis tamen locis decussus murus erat⁶ cum adlatum est successorem Apolloniae exposito exercitu 2 per Epirum ac Thessaliam venire. Cum tredecim⁷ milibus peditum et quingentis equitibus consul

¹ quo 5: qui B.² haberent 5: habebant B.³ comminisci 5: om., spat. rel. B.⁴ machinas edd. vet.: machinationes B5.⁵ turbabant 5: turbabantur B.⁶ erat 5: om. B. ⁷ tredecim Sigonius: tribus B5.¹ I.e., his council of war.

camp about noon; and then, when they had restored their bodies with food and rest, before he dismissed the council¹ he issued orders that they should be armed and ready before daybreak; unless they took the city he would not lead them back into camp. At the same time as the day before he attacked from several directions, and since the townspeople were by now lacking in strength, in weapons, and before all in courage, within a few hours he took the city. There, selling part of the plunder and dividing part among the troops, he held a council to determine what they should do next. No one urged that they move on Naupactus, the pass over Corax being held by the Aetolians. Nevertheless, that the summer might not be spent in inactivity, and that the Aetolians might not, through his delay, none the less enjoy a peace which the senate had not granted, Acilius decided to attack Amphissa. From Heraclea the army was led over Oeta. When he had made camp before the walls he did not begin to attack the city by encirclement, as at Lamia, but by siege-engines. The battering-rams were moved up in several places at once, and when the walls were shaken the townspeople did not try to prepare or devise anything against engines of this kind; all their hopes were in arms and daring; with frequent sallies they threw into confusion not only the outguards of the enemy but the men who were around the earth-works and the engines.

VI. Yet in many places the wall had been overthrown when the word was brought that the new consul had disembarked at Apollonia and was marching through Epirus and Thessaly. The consul had with him thirteen thousand infantry and five hundred

A.U.C.
544

veniebat. Iam in sinum Maliacum venerat;¹ et praemissis Hypatam, qui tradere urbem iuberent, postquam nihil responsum est nisi ex communi Aetolorum decreto facturos, ne teneret se oppugnatione Hypatae nondum Amphissa recepta, praemisso fratre Africano Amphissam ducit. Sub adventum eorum oppidani relictæ urbe—iam enim magna ex parte moenibus nudata erat—in arcem, quam inexpugnabilem habent, omnes armati atque inermes concessere.

4 Consul sex milia fere passuum inde posuit castra. Eo legati Athenienses primum ad P. Scipionem praegressum agmen, sicut ante dictum est, deinde ad
5 consulem venerunt, deprecantes pro Aetolis. Clementius responsum ab Africano tulerunt, qui causam relinquendi honeste Aetolici belli quaerens Asiam et regem Antiochum spectabat, iusseratque Athenienses non Romanis solum, ut pacem bello praeferrent, sed
6 etiam Aetolis persuadere. Celeriter auctoribus Atheniensibus frequens ab Hypata legatio Aetolorum venit, et spem pacis eis sermo etiam Africani, quem priorem adierunt, auxit, commemorantis multas gentes populosque in Hispania prius, deinde in Africa in fidem suam venisse; in omnibus se maiora clementiae benignitatisque quam virtutis bellicae monu-
7 menta reliquisse. Perfecta² videbatur res, cum aditus consul idem illud responsum rettulit, quo fugati ab senatu erant. Eo tamquam novo cum icti

¹ in sinum Maliacum venerat *ed. Parisina* 1510: in sinu-maliaco erat *B*.

² perfecta 5: perfecta uirtutis *B*.

¹ Polybius (XXI. iv. ff.) says nothing of a visit to the consul but only of their call on Africanus.

² Cf. i. 5 above.

cavalry. He had already arrived at the Malian gulf; B.C. 190 and sending messengers ahead to Hypata to order the city to surrender, when they replied that they would do nothing except in accord with the general decision of the Aetolians, that the siege of Hypata might not detain him while Amphissa was as yet uncaptured, he sent his brother Africanus in advance and led the army to Amphissa. At their coming the citizens abandoned the town—for it was in large part stripped of its defences—and retired, armed and unarmed together, to the citadel, which they held impossible to capture.

The consul pitched camp about six miles away from there. Thither came Athenian envoys, first to Publius Scipio, who had preceded the main body, as has been said before, then to the consul, interceding for the Aetolians.¹ They received a fairly amicable response from Africanus, who was looking for an occasion for an honourable withdrawal from the Aetolian campaign, with his eyes on Asia and King Antiochus, and had ordered the Athenians to urge not only the Romans to prefer peace to war, but also the Aetolians. Quickly, on the advice of the Athenians, a large delegation of Aetolians came from Hypata, and the words of Africanus, to whom they first addressed themselves, increased their hopes of peace, as he reminded them of the many tribes and peoples, first in Spain, later in Africa, who had put themselves under his protection; in all these he had left more conspicuous monuments of his kindness and generosity than of his military renown. The matter seemed settled, when the consul, on being addressed, quoted the response by which they had been rebuffed by the senate.² When the Aetolians

A.U.C.
564

Aetoli essent—nihil enim nec legatione Atheniensium nec placido Africani responso profectum videbant—referre ad suos dixerunt velle.

VII. Reditum inde Hypatam est, nec consilium expediebatur; nam neque unde mille talentum daretur erat, et permisso libero arbitrio ne in corpora
 2 sua saeviretur, metuebant. Redire itaque eosdem legatos ad consulem et Africanum iusserunt et petere ut, si dare vere pacem, non tantum ostendere, frustrantes spem miserorum, vellent, aut ex summa pecuniae demerent aut permissionem extra civium
 3 corpora fieri iuberent. Nihil impetratum ut mutaret consul; et ea quoque irrita legatio dimissa est.
 4 Secuti et Athenienses sunt; et princeps legationis eorum Echedemus fatigatos tot repulsis Aetolos et complorantes inutili lamentatione fortunam gentis ad spem revocavit auctor indutias sex mensium petendi, ut legatos mittere Romam possent: dilationem
 5 nihil ad praesentia mala, quippe quae ultima essent, adiecturam;¹ levare per multos casus tempore interposito praesentes clades posse. Auctore Echedemo
 6 idem missi; prius P. Scipione convento, per eum

¹ adiecturam ς : adiectum B.

¹ The part played by Africanus is somewhat hard to understand. He had his own reputation to maintain (cf. vi. 6 above), as had Flaminius, but he was apparently less able to control his brother than he had perhaps expected. Scipio's greater concern for the Asiatic war was no doubt due to ambition for new renown for himself and his family, and probably to the political situation in Rome. Flaminius had defeated him badly two years before (XXXV. x), and this probably still rankled, despite his more recent successes. A decisive victory in Asia would strengthen greatly the position of the Scipionic party in Rome. The result was that Scipio and Flaminius

were dealt this unexpected blow—for they saw that nothing had been accomplished either by the embassy of the Athenians or by the generous reply of Africanus—they said that they wished to consult their people. B.C. 190

VII. They returned thence to Hypata; nor was a decision easy to reach; for there was no source from which a thousand talents could be paid, and they were afraid that if "full discretion" were granted they would suffer personal violence. They therefore directed the same ambassadors to return to the consul and Africanus and to ask that if they wished to grant peace in reality, not merely to dangle it before them, deluding the hopes of the unfortunate, they would either diminish the amount of the indemnity or would order that an exception regarding their persons be made. Nothing was obtained in the way of a change on the consul's part; and this embassy also was dismissed without result. The Athenians followed; and Echedemus, the leader of their embassy, brought back hope to the Aetolians, wearied by so many repulses and bewailing with useless lamentations the ill-fate of their race, by suggesting that they ask an armistice for six months that envoys might be sent to Rome; the delay would add nothing to their present misfortunes, since these were extreme; many things might happen in the intervening time to relieve their immediate calamity. On the proposal of Echedemus the same men were sent; they first met Publius Scipio,¹ through whose inter-

were agreed as to the policy to be adopted towards the Aetolians, but for different reasons: Africanus to clear the way for the invasion of Asia, Flaminius to maintain his own peculiar position.

A.U.O.
564

indutias temporis eius, quod petebant, ab consule
 7 impetraverunt. Et soluta obsidione Amphissae M'.
 Acilius tradito consuli exercitu provincia decessit,
 et consul ab Amphissa Thessaliam repetit, ut per
 Macedoniam Thraeciamque duceret in Asiam.
 8 Tum Africanus fratri: "Iter, quod insistis, L.
 9 Scipio, ego quoque approbo; sed totum id vertitur
 in voluntate Philippi, qui si imperio nostro fidus est,
 et iter et commeatus et omnia quae in longo itinere
 exercitus alunt iuvantque nobis suppediabit; si is
 destituit,¹ nihil per Thraeciam satis tutum habebis;
 10 itaque prius regis animum explorari placet. Optime
 explorabitur, si nihil ex praeparato agentem opprimet
 11 qui mittetur." Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, longe tum
 acerrimus iuvenum, ad id delectus per dispositos
 equos prope incredibili celeritate ab Amphissa—inde
 12 enim est dimissus—die tertio Pellam pervenit. In
 convivio rex erat et in multum vini processerat; ea
 ipsa remissio animi suspicionem dempsit novare eum
 13 quicquam velle.² Et tum quidem comiter acceptus
 hospes, postero die commeatus exercitui paratos
 benigne, pontes in fluminibus factos, vias, ubi³ trans-
 14 itus difficiles erant, celeritate Thaumacis occurrit con-

¹ destituit ς : destituat B.² quicquam velle ς : om. B.³ ubi ς : om. B.¹ Cf. ii. 7-8 above. Acilius had not been relieved while the new consul was still six miles away (vi. 4 above).² Scipio now had the army of Acilius plus the troops which he had brought from Italy. Cornelius, the praetor of ii. 7-8 above, was in Greece to watch the Aetolians, but the six months of truce would cover the campaigning season.

vention they obtained from the consul an armistice B.C. 190
 for the period which they asked. And the siege of
 Amphissa being raised, Manius Acilius turned his
 army over to the consul and left the province,¹ and
 from Amphissa the consul went back into Thessaly,
 in order to conduct the army through Macedonia
 and Thrace into Asia.²

Then Africanus addressed his brother: "The route which you propose to follow, Lucius Scipio, I likewise approve; but it all hangs on the good-will of Philip, if he is loyal to our empire and will furnish us a safe passage and supplies and everything which feeds and aids an army on a long march; if he fails us, there will be no real security in going through Thrace; therefore my first counsel is to test the attitude of the king. It will be most successfully tested if the man who is sent finds him doing nothing in anticipation of such a visit." Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus,³ by far the most energetic of the young men of the time, was chosen for this errand and, using relays of horses, with almost unbelievable speed, from Amphissa—for he was sent from there—on the third day reached Pella. The king was at a banquet and had gone far with his drinking; this very cheerfulness of mind relieved all anxiety that Philip planned to make any new trouble. And at that time the guest was graciously welcomed, and the next day he saw supplies in abundance prepared for the army, bridges built over the rivers, roads constructed where travel was difficult. Taking back this information, with the same speed as on his journey hither, he met the consul at Thaumaci.

³ He later married the daughter of Africanus (XXXVIII. lvii. 6-7).

A.U.C.
564

suli. Inde certiore et maiore spe laetus exercitus ad praeparata omnia in Macedoniam pervenit.
 15 Venientes regio apparatu et accepit et prosecutus est rex. Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quae commendabilia apud Africanum erant, virum sicut ad cetera egregium, ita a comitate, quae sine
 16 luxuria esset, non aversum. Inde non per Macedoniam modo sed etiam Thraeciam prosequente et praeparante omnia Philippo ad Hellespontum perventum est.

VIII. Antiochus post navalem ad Corycum pugnam cum totam hiemem liberam in apparatus terrestres maritimosque habuisset, classi maxime reparandae, ne tota maris possessione pelleretur, intentus
 2 fuerat. Succurrebat superatum se, cum classis afuisset Rhodiorum; quodsi ea quoque—nec commissuros Rhodios, ut iterum morarentur—certamini adesset, magno sibi navium numero opus fore, ut viribus et¹ magnitudine classem hostium aequaret.
 3 Itaque et Hannibalem in Syriam miserat ad Phoenicum accersendas naves, et Polyxenidam, quo minus prospere res gesta erat, eo enixius et eas, quae
 4 erant, reficere et alias parare naves iussit. Ipse in Phrygia hibernavit undique auxilia accersens. Etiam in Gallograeciam miserat; bellicosiores ea tempestate erant, Gallicos adhuc, nondum exoleta stirpe
 5 gentis, servantes animos. Filium Seleucum in Aeolide reliquerat cum exercitu ad maritimas con-

¹ et ε: ut B.

¹ Livy seems to say that some of the original Gallic invaders were still alive; since they had come into Asia about 278 B.C., he probably means that the current generation had not yet been enervated by the easier life of Asia.

From there the army, rejoicing to find its hopes surer and greater, reached Macedonia, where everything was in readiness. As they drew near the king welcomed them and escorted them in royal state. There were seen in him many signs both of efficiency and of courtesy, which served to recommend him to Africanus, a man who, eminent as he was in every way, was not averse to courtesy, provided that it was without luxury. Thence not only through Macedonia but also through Thrace, with Philip escorting them and making everything easy for them, the journey to the Hellespont was accomplished.

VIII. Antiochus, after the naval battle off Corycus, when he had spent all the free winter period in preparations on land and sea, had devoted most energy to refitting his fleet, that he might not lose entirely his control of the sea. It came to his mind that he had been defeated when the fleet of the Rhodians was absent; but if this—and the Rhodians would not let it happen again that they should be behind-hand—should also be present at a battle, he would need a great number of ships to equal the fleet of the enemy in strength and size. So he had both despatched Hannibal to Syria to summon ships of the Phoenicians and ordered Polyxenidas, as he had been none too successful before, so to make the greater efforts in equipping the ships that remained and in assembling new ones. He himself wintered in Phrygia, summoning allies from all sides. He had sent even to Galatia; the inhabitants at that time were of a warlike disposition, still retaining their Gallic tempers, the native strain having not yet disappeared.¹ He had left his son Seleucus in Aeolis to hold in check the cities on the coast which on one

A.U.C.
564

tinendas¹ urbes, quas illinc a Pergamo Eumenes, hinc a Phocaea Erythrisque Romani sollicitabant.
 6 Classis Romana, sicut ante dictum est, ad Canas hibernabat; eo media ferme hieme rex Eumenes cum duobus² milibus peditum, equitibus quingentis
 7 venit. Is cum magnam praedam agi posse dixisset ex agro hostium, qui circa Thyatiram esset, hortando perpulit Livium, ut quinque milia militum secum mitteret. Missi ingentem praedam intra paucos dies averterunt.

IX. Inter haec Phocaeae seditio orta quibusdam ad Antiochum multitudinis animos avocantibus.
 2 Gravia hiberna navium erant, grave tributum, quod togae quingentae imperatae erant cum quingentis
 3 tunicis, gravis etiam inopia frumenti, propter quam naves quoque et praesidium Romanum excessit. Tum vero liberata metu factio erat, quae plebem in
 4 contionibus ad³ Antiochum trahebat; senatus et optimates in Romana societate perstandum censebant; defectionis auctores plus apud multitudinem
 5 valuerunt. Rhodii, quo magis cessatum priore aestate erat, eo maturius aequinoctio verno eundem Pausistratum classis praefectum cum sex et triginta
 6 navibus miserunt. Iam Livius a Canis cum triginta navibus suis et⁴ septem quadriremibus quas secum Eumenes rex adduxerat Hellespontum petebat, ut ad transitum exercitus, quem terra venturum opinabatur, praepararet, quae opus essent. In portum

¹ continendas 5: obtinendas B.² duobus *edd. vet.*: .XX. BM5.³ ad 5: *om. B.*⁴ suis et *Madvig*: et B5.

side Eumenes from Pergamum and on the other the B.C. 190 Romans from Phocaea and Erythrae were trying to rouse. The Roman fleet, as has been said above, was wintering at Canae; there, about the middle of the winter, King Eumenes came with two thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. When he said that a great quantity of booty could be secured from the country of the enemy around Thyatira, he urged and finally persuaded Livius to send five thousand men with him. They were sent and within a few days carried off a huge amount of plunder.

IX. Meanwhile an uprising began at Phocaea when certain persons tried to draw away the sympathies of the crowd to Antiochus. The quartering of the ships was a burden, the tribute was a burden, since five hundred outer-garments with five hundred under-garments had been demanded of them; the shortage of grain was another burden, on account of which the fleet too and the Roman garrison departed. Then indeed the faction which was trying to win the people over to Antiochus in their public meetings was freed from fear; the senate and the nobility thought that they should persist in the Roman alliance; the party which urged revolt was stronger with the mass of the people. The Rhodians, the greater their delay the preceding summer, the earlier now, namely, at the spring equinox, placed the same Pausistratus in charge of the fleet and despatched him with thirty-six ships. Already Livius from Canae, with his own thirty ships and seven quadriremes which King Eumenes had brought with him, was on his way to the Hellespont, that he might make everything ready for the crossing of the army, which, he thought, would come by land. He first

A.U.C.
564

quem vocant Achaeorum classem primum advertit; inde Ilium escendit, sacrificioque Minervae facto legationes finitimas ab Elaeunte et Dardano et Rhoeteo, tradentes in fidem civitates suas, benigne
 8 audivit. Inde ad Hellesponti fauces navigat et decem navibus in statione contra Abydum relictis cetera classe in Europam ad Sestum oppugnandam
 9 traiecit. Iam subeuntibus armatis muros fanatici Galli primum cum sollemni habitu ante portam occurrunt; iussu se matris deum famulos deae venire memorant ad precandum Romanum, ut parceret
 10 moenibus urbique. Nemo eorum violatus est. Mox universus senatus cum magistratibus ad dedendam urbem processit. Inde Abydum traiecta classis. Ubi cum temptatis¹ per colloquia animis nihil pacati responderetur, ad oppugnationem sese expediebant.

X. Dum haec in Hellesponto geruntur, Polyxenidas regius praefectus—erat autem exul Rhodius—cum audisset profectam ab domo popularium suorum classem, et Pausistratum praefectum superbe quaedam et contemptim in se contionantem dixisse, praecipuo certamine animi adversus eum sumpto nihil aliud dies noctesque agitabat animo, quam ut verba magnifica eius rebus confutaret. Mittit ad eum hominem et illi notum, qui diceret et se Pausistrato patriaeque suae magno usui, si liceat, fore, et a Pausistrato se

¹ temptatis 5: tempestatis B.

¹ The Greeks were supposed to have anchored there during the Trojan war.

² The *Galli* were priests of the Magna Mater whose temple in Rome had been dedicated the year before (XXXVI. xxxvi. 3), and may have been chosen as intercessors because of that

brought the ships into what they call the harbour of the Achaeans,¹ thence he went up to Ilium, and after sacrificing to Minerva gave a gracious audience to embassies from Elaeus and Dardanus and Rhoeteum offering to entrust their cities to his good faith. Thence he sailed to the entrance to the Hellespont, and leaving ten ships on guard off Abydus crossed with the rest of the fleet to lay siege to Sestus. When the soldiers were already approaching the walls, some fanatical *Galli*² with their ritual dress first met them before the gate; they said that by the order of the Mother of the Gods they, the servants of the goddess, were coming to implore the Romans to spare the walls and the city. None of them was injured. Presently the whole senate with the magistrates came to surrender the city. Then the fleet crossed to Abydus. After trying their disposition in conferences and receiving no pacific reply, they prepared for a siege.

X. While this was going on in the Hellespont, Polyxenidas the king's prefect—he was an exile from Rhodes—hearing that the fleet of his countrymen had left home and that their commander Pausistratus, while haranguing the assembly, had spoken haughtily and contemptuously about him, feeling a peculiar jealousy towards him, thought of nothing by day or night except how he might employ deeds to refute these high-sounding words. He sent to him a man, who was also well-known to him, to say that he could be of great service to Pausistratus and the country if he were permitted, and could be

connection. They are described as *fanatici* because of the nature of their cult. Polybius (XXXI. vi.) says that there were only two priests in the party. The *Galli* were eunuchs.

A.U.C.
564

4 restitui in patriam posse. Cum, quonam modo ea
fieri possent, mirabundus Pausistratus percunctaretur,
fidem petenti dedit agenda communiti rei aut
5 tegendae silentio. Tum internuntius: regiam clas-
sem aut totam aut maiorem eius partem Polyxenidam
traditurum ei; pretium tanti meriti nullum aliud
6 pacisci quam reditum in patriam. Magnitudo rei
nec ut crederet nec ut aspernaretur dicta effecit.¹
Panhormum Samiae terrae petit, ibique ad explo-
7 randam rem quae oblata erat substitit. Ultro
citroque nuntii cursare, nec fides ante Pausistrato
facta est quam coram nuntio eius Polyxenidas sua
manu scripsit se ea quae pollicitus esset facturum
8 signoque suo impressas tabellas misit. Eo vero
pignore velut auctoratum sibi proditorem ratus est:
neque enim eum qui sub rege viveret commissurum
fuisse, ut adversus semet ipsum indicia manu sua
9 testata daret. Inde ratio simulatae proditiōis com-
posita. Omnium se rerum apparatus omisurum
Polyxenidas dicere; non remigem, non socios navales
10 ad classem frequentes habiturum; subducturum per
simulationem reficiendi quasdam naves, alias in pro-
pinquos portus dimissurum; paucas ante portum
Ephesi in salo habiturum, quas, si exire res cogeret,
11 obiecturus certamini foret. Quam negligentiam
Polyxenidam in classe sua habiturum Pausistratus
audivit, eam ipse extemplo habuit, partem navium
ad commeatus accersendos Halicarnassum, partem

¹ effecit 5: efficit B.

restored by Pausistratus to his home. When B.C. 190
Pausistratus in wonder asked how this could be done,
the man asked and received a pledge to co-operate
in the business or to bury it in silence. Then the
go-between said this: Polyxenidas would surrender
to him the royal fleet, either the whole or the greater
part of it; as reward for so great a service he stipu-
lated nothing else than restoration to his fatherland.
The importance of the matter caused Pausistratus
neither to believe nor to scorn the message. He
sailed to Panhormus in the land of Samos and waited
there to investigate the offer that had been made.
Messengers travelled back and forth, nor was Pausi-
stratus convinced until in the presence of his agent
Polyxenidas with his own hand wrote that he would
do what he had promised, and sealing the tablets
with his own device sent them to him. By this pledge
he thought that the traitor was bound to him: for
a man who lived under a king would not have per-
mitted himself to give proofs, attested by his own
hand, to be used against himself. The plan of carry-
ing out the pretended treachery was then settled.
Polyxenidas said that he would give over the pre-
paration of everything; he would not have rowers
or naval allies in sufficient numbers with the fleet;
he would draw up on shore certain ships under
pretence of repairing them and would send others
away to neighbouring ports; a few he would keep
before the harbour of Ephesus in the open sea, and
these, if conditions demanded it, he would expose to
battle. The same carelessness which he heard that
Polyxenidas would adopt in his own fleet, Pausistratus
at once himself put into practice, sending part of the
fleet to collect stores at Halicarnassus and part to the

A.U.C.
564

Samum ad urbem misit, ipse ad Panhormum mansit,¹
ut paratus esset, cum signum adgrediendi a pro-
12 ditore accepisset. Polyxenidas augere simulando
errorem; subducit quasdam naves, alias velut sub-
ducturus esset, navalia reficit; remiges ex hibernis
non Ephesum accersit, sed Magnesiam occulte
cogit.

XI. Forte quidam Antiochi miles, cum Samum rei
privatae causa venisset, pro speculatore deprehensus
2 deducitur Panhormum ad praefectum. Is percunc-
tanti quid Ephesi ageretur, incertum metu an erga
3 suos haud sincera fide, omnia aperit: classem in-
structam paratamque in portu stare; remigium
omne Magnesiam missum;² perpaucas naves sub-
ductas esse et navalia detegi;³ numquam intentius
4 rem navalem administratam esse. Haec ne pro
veris audirentur, animus errore et spe vana prae-
occupatus fecit. Polyxenidas satis omnibus com-
paratis, nocte remige a Magnesia accersito, de-
ductisque raptim quae subductae erant navibus, cum
diem non tam apparatu absumpsisset,⁴ quam quod
5 conspici proficiscentem classem nolebat, post solis
occasum profectus septuaginta navibus tectis vento
adverso ante lucem Pygela portum tenuit. Ibi cum
interdiu ob eandem causam quiesset, nocte in
6 proxima Samiae terrae traiecit. Hinc Nicandro
quodam archipirata quinque navibus tectis Palinurum
iusso petere, atque inde armatos, qua proximum

¹ ipse ad Panhormum mansit aut ipse Panhormi substitit
M. Müller: om. B.

² Magnesiam missum *Crévier: magnesiam ad sypilum*
missum *B.*; magnesiam missum ad sipulum *M.*

³ detegi *Weissenborn: tegi B.*

⁴ absumpsisset *5: adsumpsisset B.*

city of Samos, and he himself remained at Panhormus, B.C. 190
to be ready when he received from the traitor the
signal to attack. Polyxenidas by trickery added to
his confusion of mind; he beached some ships and
fitted up dock-yards as if he were on the point of
drawing up others; the rowers he did not summon
from winter quarters to Ephesus but collected secretly
at Magnesia.

XI. There was a certain soldier of Antiochus who
had come to Samos on private business, and was
arrested as a spy and taken to Panhormus to the
prefect. When the prefect asked what was going on
at Ephesus—it is uncertain whether it was because
of fear or from disloyalty to his own people—he
revealed everything: the fleet, arrayed and equipped,
was in the harbour; all the rowers had been sent to
Magnesia; a few ships had been beached and the
docks dismantled; never had greater energy been
devoted to naval matters. That this story was not
accepted as the truth was due to a mind preoccu-
pied with falsehood and delusive hope. Polyxenidas,
having now completed his arrangements and sum-
moned the rowers by night from Magnesia, hastily
launched the ships which had been drawn up on the
shore, and when he had spent a day not so much in
preparation as because he did not want the departing
fleet to be seen, he set out after sunset, the wind
being favourable, with seventy decked ships and
before daylight reached the harbour of Pygela.
He rested there by day for the same reason and during
the next night crossed to the Samian country. Then
he directed Nicander, a certain pirate chief, to pro-
ceed to Palinurus with five decked ships and then to
lead the marines by the shortest road through the

A.U.C.
564

per agros iter esset, Panhormum ad tergum hostium ducere, ipse interim classe divisa, ut ex utraque parte fauces portus teneret, Panhormum petit.
 7 Pausistratus primo ut in re necopinata turbatus parumper, deinde vetus miles celeriter collecto animo terra melius arceri quam mari hostes posse ratus, armatos duobus agminibus ad promunturia,
 8 quae cornibus obiectis ab alto portum¹ faciunt, ducit, inde facile telis ancipitibus² hostem summoturus. Id inceptum eius Nicander a terra visus cum turbasset, repente mutato consilio naves conscendere
 9 omnes iubet. Tum vero ingens pariter militum nautarumque trepidatio orta, et velut fuga in naves fieri, cum se mari terraque simul cernerent circum-
 10 ventos. Pausistratus unam viam salutis esse ratus, si vim facere per fauces portus³ atque erumpere in mare apertum posset, postquam conscendisse suos vidit, sequi ceteris iussis⁴ princeps ipse concitata
 11 nave remis ad ostium portus tendit. Superantem iam fauces navem⁵ eius Polyxenidas tribus quinqueremibus circumstetit. Navis rostris icta supprimitur; telis obruuntur propugnatores, inter quos
 12 et Pausistratus impigre pugnans interficitur. Navium reliquarum ante portum aliae, aliae⁶ in portu deprensae, quaedam a Nicandro, dum moluntur a
 13 terra, captae; quinque tantum Rhodiae naves cum duabus Cois⁷ effugerunt terrore flammae micantis

¹ portum ♂: profundum B.² telis ancipitibus ed. Parisina 1513: ex ancipitibus B♂.³ portus ♂: om. B.⁴ iussis ♂: iussit B.⁵ nauem ♂: naues B.⁶ aliae aliae edd. vett.: aliae B: ex edd. et codd. alii aliud.⁷ duabus Cois ed. Frobeniana 1535: duabus copiis B♂: cois duabus M.

fields to Panhormus to take the enemy in the rear, B.C. 190 and he himself in the meantime, dividing the fleet that he might hold the entrance to the harbour on both sides, set out for Panhormus. Pausistratus at first, as one in an unexpected situation, was terrified for a while, then, being a veteran soldier, he quickly collected his thoughts and decided that it was better to resist the enemy on land than on sea, and led the troops in two columns to the promontories which, like horns projecting into the sea, form the harbour, expecting to repel the enemy easily with weapons falling upon them from both sides. When the sight of Nicander, coming by land, had upset this plan, he suddenly changed his intention and ordered them all to go aboard the ships. Then there was great confusion among the marines and sailors, and a sort of flight to the ships began, when they saw themselves surrounded by land and sea at once. Pausistratus thought that there was one way of safety, if he could force a way through the entrance of the harbour and escape into the open sea, and when he saw that all had embarked he ordered the rest to follow him, and at the head of the column, urging his ship forward with the oars, he made for the entrance of the harbour. As the ship was passing the entrance Polyxenidas with three quinqueremes surrounded it. The ship was struck by the beaks and sunk; the defenders were overwhelmed with missiles, and among them Pausistratus too, fighting bravely, was killed. Some of the remaining ships were taken outside the harbour and others inside, and some were captured by Nicander as they were pushing off from the beach; only five Rhodian and two Coan ships escaped, making a way for

A.U.C.
564

via sibi inter confertas naves facta; contis enim binis
a prora prominentibus trullis ferreis multum con-
14 ceptum ignem prae se portabant. Erythraeae trire-
mes cum haud procul a Samo Rhodiis navibus,
quibus ut essent praesidio veniebant, obviae fugienti-
bus fuissent, in Hellespontum ad Romanos cursum
15 averterunt. Sub idem tempus Seleucus proditam
Phocaeam porta una per custodes aperta recepit;
et Cyme aliaeque ¹ eiusdem orae urbes ad eum metu
defecerunt.

XII. Dum haec in Aeolide geruntur, Abydus cum
per aliquot dies obsidionem tolerasset praesidio regio
2 tutante moenia, iam omnibus fessis Philota quoque
praefecto praesidii permittente magistratus eorum
cum Livio de condicionibus tradendae urbis agebant.
Rem distinebat ² quod, utrum armati an inermes
3 emitterentur regii, parum conveniebat. Haec agentibus
cum intervenisset nuntius Rhodiorum cladis.
4 emissa ³ de manibus res est; metuens enim Livius
ne successu tantae rei inflatus Polyxenidas classem
quae ad Canas erat opprimeret, Abydi obsidione
custodiaque Hellesponti extemplo relictas naves, quae
subductae Canis erant, deduxit; et Eumenes
5 Elaeam venit. Livius omni classe, cui adiunxerat
duas triremes Mitylenaeas, Phocaeam petit. Quam
cum teneri valido regio praesidio audisset, nec
procul Seleuci castra esse, depopulatus maritimam

¹ aliaeque *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: liaeque *B.*

² distinebat *Γ*: destinabat *B.*

³ emissa *ed. Aldina*: omissa *BΓ.*

¹ Polybius (XXI. vi) describes these contrivances in greater detail. The drums or scoops were swung from the poles and could be tripped by suitable chains from the deck to spill fire on ships that approached.

themselves among the crowded vessels by means of B.C. 190
the fear of darting flames; for each, with two poles
projecting from their prows, carried ahead of it a
great quantity of fire in iron drums.¹ When the
triremes of Erythrae had met, not far from Samos,
the fleeing Rhodian ships which they were coming
to assist, they turned their course toward the Helles-
pont and the Romans. About the same time Seleucus
recovered Phocaea, which was betrayed when one
gate was opened by the sentinels; and Cyme and
other towns of the same region revolted to him from
fear.

XII. When these events were happening in Aeolis
and Abydus had for some days withstood the siege,
a royal garrison defending the walls, and all were
now wearied, with the consent of even Philotas,
prefect of the garrison, their magistrates treated
with Livius as to the terms for surrendering the city.
The question that delayed a settlement was that
there was no agreement as to whether they should
be released armed or unarmed. As they were
discussing this the arrival of the announcement of
the disaster to the Rhodians caused the matter to
pass out of their hands; for Livius, fearing that
Polyxenidas, elated by his success in so great an
enterprise, would attack the fleet which was at
Canas, immediately abandoned the siege of Abydus
and the guarding of the Hellespont and launched
the ships which had been drawn up on the beach
at Canas; Eumenes too came to Elaea. Livius with
the entire fleet, to which were added two triremes
from Mitylene, sailed for Phocaea. When he heard
that this was held by a strong royal garrison and that
the camp of Seleucus was not far away, he ravaged

A.U.C.
564

6 oram, et praeda maxime hominum raptim in naves
 imposita tantum moratus, dum Eumenes cum ¹
 7 classe adsequeretur, Samum petere intendit. Rhodiis
 primo audita clades simul pavorem simul luctum in-
 gentem fecit; nam praeter navium militumque
 iacturam, quod floris, quod roboris in iuventute
 8 fuerat,² amiserant, multis nobilibus secutis inter
 cetera auctoritatem Pausistrati, quae inter suos
 merito maxima erat; deinde, quod fraude capti,
 quod a cive potissimum suo forent, in iram luctus
 9 vertit. Decem extemplo naves, et diebus post
 paucis decem alias praefecto omnium Eudamo
 miserunt, quem aliis virtutibus bellicis haudquaquam
 Pausistrato parem, cautiorem, quo minus animi erat,
 10 ducem futurum credebant. Romani et Eumenes rex
 in Erythraeam primum classem applicuerunt. Ibi
 noctem unam morati postero die Corycum ³ promun-
 11 turium tenuerunt. Inde cum in proxima Samiae
 vellent traicere, non expectato solis ortu, ex quo
 statum caeli notare gubernatores possent, in incertam
 12 tempestatem miserunt. Medio in cursu, aquilone
 in septentrionem verso, exasperato fluctibus mari
 iactari coeperunt.

XIII. Polyxenidas Samum petituros ratus hostes,
 ut se Rhodiae classi coniungerent, ab Epheso pro-
 fectus primo ad Myonnesum stetit; inde ad Macrin
 quam vocant insulam traiecit, ut praetervehentis
 classis si quas ⁴ aberrantes ex agmine naves posset

¹ cum ς : in *B*.

² fuerat ς : om. *B*.

³ Corycum *Weissenborn*: corycum pelorum *B*.

⁴ praetervehentis classis si quas *ed. Frobeniana* 1535:
 praeteruehementis classis si quas *B*: praeteruehens si quas
M: praeteruehentes si quas ς .

the sea-coast and, quickly loading the booty, es- B.C. 190
 pecially the men, into the ships, waiting only until
 Eumenes with his fleet should overtake him, he
 set sail for Samos. To the Rhodians the news of
 the disaster brought at first mingled terror and
 grief; for besides the destruction of ships and
 marines, they had lost all the beauty and strength
 of their youth, many nobles having been attracted,
 among other things, by the prestige of Pausis-
 tratus, which had justly been very great among
 his people; then the fact that they had been
 entrapped by guile, and, more than that, by their
 own fellow-citizen, turned their grief into anger.
 They straightway sent ten ships and a few days later
 ten more, all under the prefect Eudamus, who, they
 believed, would be a leader in no respect equal to
 Pausistratus in other military qualities, but the more
 cautious as he was less high-spirited. The Romans
 and King Eumenes sailed first to Erythraea. Then,
 after a wait of one night, on the following day they
 gained the promontory of Corycus. Wishing to
 cross from there to the nearest parts of the land of
 Samos, without waiting for sunrise, so that from it
 the pilots might be able to judge the state of the
 heavens, they started out into uncertain weather.
 Half-way across, the north-east wind veering to the
 north, the ships began to be tossed by seas roughened
 by the wind.

XIII. Polyxenidas thought that the Roman fleet
 would make for Samos to join the Rhodian ships,
 and starting from Ephesus first stood off Myonnesus,
 then crossed to the island which they call Macris,
 that he might fall upon any individual ship of the
 passing fleet as it got out of formation or attack the

A.U.C.
564

2 aut postremum agmen opportune adoriretur. Postquam sparsam tempestate classem vidit, occasionem primo adgrediendi ratus, paulo post increbrescente
3 vento et maiores iam volvente fluctus, quia pervenire se ad eos videbat non posse, ad Aethaliam insulam traiecit, ut inde postero die Samum ex alto petentes
4 naves adgrederetur. Romani, pars exigua, primis tenebris portum desertum Samiae tenuerunt, classis cetera nocte tota in alto iactata in eundem portum
5 decurrit. Ibi ex agrestibus cognito hostium naves ad Aethaliam stare, consilium habitum, utrum ex templo decernerent an Rhodiam expectarent classem.
6 Dilata re—ita enim placuit—Corycum unde venerant traiecerunt. Polyxenidas quoque, cum frustra stetisset, Ephesum rediit. Tum Romanae naves vacuo
7 ab hostibus mari Samum traiecerunt. Eodem et Rhodia classis post dies paucos venit. Quam ut expectatam esse appareret, profecti extemplo sunt Ephesum, ut aut decernerent navali certamine aut, si detractaret hostis pugnam, quod plurimum intererat ad animos civitatum, timoris confessionem
8 exprimerent. Contra fauces portus instructa in frontem navium acie stetere. Postquam nemo adversus ibat, classe divisa pars in salo ad ostium portus in ancoris stetit, pars in terram milites exposuit.
9 In eos iam ingentem praedam late depopulato agro

rear of the column at a suitable opportunity. When B.C. 190 he saw that the fleet was scattered by the storm, he first thought that he had a chance to attack, but a little later, the wind freshening and rolling up even greater waves, since he realized that he could not get to them, he crossed to the island of Aethalia, that thence on the following day he might fall upon the ships which were trying to reach Samos from the sea. A small part of the Romans reached at dusk a deserted harbour in Samian territory, the rest of the fleet, tossed all night in the open sea, ran to the same port. There they learned from peasants that the enemy's fleet was standing off Aethalia, and a council was held whether they should fight at once or wait for the Rhodian fleet. Action being postponed—for such was the decision—they crossed to Corycus whence they had come. Polyxenidas also, after waiting in vain, returned to Ephesus. Then the Roman fleet, the sea being empty of the enemy, crossed to Samos. The Rhodian fleet also arrived at the same place a few days later, and thus, to make it clear that this was what they were awaiting, a start was immediately made for Ephesus, that they might either fight a naval battle or, if the enemy declined the engagement, which was a matter of great import for its effect on the dispositions of the cities, they might wrest from him an admission of cowardice. They took their position facing the entrance to the harbour with the fleet drawn up in order of battle. When no one came out to meet them, the fleet divided, and part remained at anchor in the open sea opposite the entrance, part landed the marines on the coast. And when they were bringing in a vast amount of booty, having devastated the country

A.U.C.
564

agentes Andronicus Macedo, qui in praesidio Ephesi erat, iam moenibus appropinquantes eruptionem fecit, exutosque magna parte praedae ad mare ac
 10 naves redegit. Postero die insidiis medio ferme viae positis ad eliciendum extra moenia Macedonem¹ Romani ad urbem agmine iere; inde, cum ea ipsa suspicio ne quis exiret deterruisset, redierunt ad
 11 naves; et terra marique fugientibus certamen hostibus Samum unde venerat classis repetit. Inde duas sociorum ex Italia, duas Rhodias triremes cum praefecto Epicrate Rhodio² ad fretum Cephallaniae
 12 tuendum praetor misit. Infestum id latrocinio Lacedaemonius Hybristas cum iuventute Cephallanum faciebat, clausumque iam mare com meatibus Italicis erat.

XIV. Piraei L. Aemilio Regillo succedenti ad
 2 navale imperium Epicrates occurrit; qui audita clade Rhodiorum, cum ipse duas tantum quinquere-
 mes haberet, Epicratem cum quattuor navibus in Asiam secum reduxit; prosecutae etiam apertae Athenien-
 sium naves sunt. Aegaeo mari traiecit Chium.³
 3 Eodem Timasistrates Rhodius cum duabus quadriremibus ab Samo nocte intempesta⁴ venit, deductusque ad Aemilium praesidii causa se missum ait, quod eam oram maris infestam onerariis regiae naves excursionibus crebris⁵ ab Hellesponto atque Abydo facerent. Traicienti Aemilio a Chio Samum

¹ macedonem 5: macedonum B.² Rhodio *Perizonius*: rhodiorum B5.³ Chium *Duker*: om. B5.⁴ intempesta 5: intempestate B.⁵ crebris 5: om. B.

¹ One would expect that the task of keeping this part of the sea open would fall upon the fleet in Italian waters.

far and wide, Andronicus the Macedonian, who was B.C. 190 in the garrison at Ephesus, made a sally as they approached the walls, and stripping them of a large part of their plunder drove them to the sea and the ships. On the next day, placing an ambushade at about the half-way point, the Romans marched in column towards the city to draw out the Macedonian; then, since the very suspicion that this would be done prevented anyone from coming out, they returned to the ships; and, the enemy avoiding battle on land and sea, the fleet returned to Samos, whence it had come. Then the praetor sent two triremes of the allies from Italy and two from Rhodes, with Epicrates the Rhodian in command, to defend the strait of Cephallania. The Spartan Hybristas with the young men of the Cephallanians was making this dangerous with his piracy, and the sea was already closed to supplies from Italy.¹

XIV. At Piraeus Epicrates met Lucius Aemilius Regillus, who was taking over the command on the sea²; and on hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, since he himself had only two quinquere-
 mes, he took Epicrates with his four ships back to Asia with him; open Athenian vessels also accompanied him. In the Aegean sea they crossed to Chios. There Timasistrates the Rhodian came on a stormy night with two quadriremes from Samos, and when brought in to Aemilius he said that he had been sent as an escort because this coast of the sea was made dangerous to cargo-boats because of the frequent raids of the king's ships from the Hellespont and Abydos. As Aemilius was crossing from Chios to Samos, he was joined by two

² Cf. iv. 5 above; from ii. 10 above it would be assumed that Aemilius would have a more powerful fleet.

A.U.C.
564

duae Rhodiae quadriremes, missae obviam ab Livio,
et rex Eumenes cum duabus quinqueremibus
4 occurrit. Samum postquam ventum est, accepta
ab Livio classe et sacrificio, ut adsolet, rite facto
Aemilius consilium advocavit. Ibi C. Livius—is
enim est primus rogatus sententiam—neminem
fidelius posse dare consilium dixit quam eum qui id
alteri suaderet quod ipse, si in eodem loco esset,
5 facturus fuerit: se in animo habuisse tota classe
Ephesum petere et onerarias ducere multa saburra
gravatas, atque eas in faucibus portus suppressere;
6 et eo minoris molimenti ea claustra esse, quod in
fluminis modum longum et angustum et vadosum
ostium portus sit. Ita adempturum se maris usum
hostibus fuisse inutilemque classem facturum.

XV. Nulli ea placere sententia. Eumenes rex
quaesivit, quid tandem? Ubi demersis navibus
frenassent claustra maris, utrum libera sua classe
abscessuri inde forent ad opem ferendam sociis
terroremque hostibus praebendum, an nihilo minus
2 tota classe portum obsessuri? Sive enim abscedant,
cui dubium esse quin hostes extracturi demersas
moles sint et minore molimento aperturi portum,
quam obstruatur?¹ Sin autem manendum ibi nihilo
3 minus sit, quid² attinere claudi portum? Quin
contra illos, tutissimo portu, opulentissima urbe
fruentes, omnia Asia praebente quieti aestiva acturos;
Romanos aperto in mari fluctibus tempestatibusque
obiectos, omnium inopes, in adsidua statione futuros,
4 ipsos magis adligatos impeditosque, ne quid eorum

¹ obstruatur *edd. vet.*: instruatur *B*.² sit, quid *edd. vet.*: quit *B*: quid *ε*.

Rhodian quadriremes sent by Livius to meet him, and B.C. 190
by King Eumenes with two quinqueremes. When
they reached Samos Aemilius took over the fleet
from Livius and after duly performing the sacrifice
in the usual way called a council. There Gaius
Livius—for he was the first to be asked his opinion—
said that no one could give more loyal advice than
the man who, if he were in the same situation, would
have done what he advised the other to do: he had
it in mind to proceed to Ephesus with the entire
fleet, taking along numerous cargo-boats heavily
loaded with sand, and to sink them at the mouth of
the harbour; the closing of the harbour would involve
the less difficulty because the mouth of the harbour
was like a river, long, narrow, and full of shoals.
Thus they would have taken away from the enemy
the use of the sea and immobilized his fleet.

XV. This suggestion was approved by no one.
King Eumenes asked what came next? When they
had sunk the ships and closed the gate to the sea,
would they then, with the whole fleet released, go
away from there to give aid to the allies and cause
terror to the enemy or would they none the less
block the harbour with the whole fleet? For if they
go away, who doubts that the enemy will raise the
sunken hulls and open up the harbour with less
trouble than was taken to close it? But if they are to
stay none the less, what good does it do to close it?
On the contrary, the enemy, enjoying a very safe
harbour and a very prosperous city, with Asia sup-
plying their every want, will spend a quiet summer;
but the Romans, exposed on the open sea to waves and
storms, needing everything, will be continually on
guard, themselves hampered and prevented from

quae agenda sint possint agere, quam ut hostes
 5 clausos habeant.¹ Eudamus praefectus Rhodiae
 classis magis eam sibi displicere sententiam ostendit
 6 quam ipse quid censeret faciendum dixit. Epicrates
 Rhodius omissa in praesentia Epheso mittendam
 navium partem in Lyciam censuit, et Patara, caput
 7 gentis, in societatem adiungenda.² In duas magnas
 res id usui fore, et Rhodios pacatis contra insulam
 suam terris totis viribus incumbere in unius belli,
 8 quod adversus Antiochum sit, curam posse, et eam
 classem, quae in Cilicia compararetur, intercludi,
 ne Polyxenidae coniungatur. Haec maxime movit
 9 sententia; placuit tamen Regillum classe tota evehi
 ad portum Ephesi ad inferendum hostibus terrorem.

XVI. C. Livius cum duabus quinqueremibus Ro-
 manis et quattuor quadriremibus Rhodiis et duabus
 apertis Zmyrnaeis in Lyciam est missus, Rhodum
 prius iussus adire et omnia cum iis communicare
 2 consilia. Civitates, quas praetervectus est, Miletus
 Myndus Halicarnassus Cnidus Cos, imperata enixe
 3 fecerunt. Rhodum ut ventum est, simul et ad
 quam rem missus esset, iis exposuit et consuluit
 eos. Approbantibus cunctis et ad eam quam
 habebat classem, adsumptis tribus quadriremibus,
 4 navigat Patara. Primo secundus ventus ad ipsam
 urbem ferebat eos, sperabantque subito terrore
 aliquid moturos; postquam circumagente se vento
 fluctibus dubiis volvi coeptum est mare, pervicerunt

¹ habeant ς : habebant B.

² adiungenda J. F. Gronovius: adiungendam B ς .

being able to do anything they want to do except B.C. 190
 keeping the enemy blockaded. Eudamus, the com-
 mander of the Rhodian fleet, showed that he dis-
 liked the proposal rather than announced any plan
 of his own. Epicrates the Rhodian thought that
 they should leave Ephesus for the present and send
 part of the fleet to Lycia and win Patara, the chief
 city of the country, to their alliance. This would
 be useful in two important respects: first, that the
 Rhodians, with the lands opposite their island tranquil,
 could devote all their energies to the one war that
 was being waged against Antiochus; second, that
 the fleet which was being assembled in Cilicia could
 be prevented from joining Polyxenidas. This sug-
 gestion carried the greatest weight; nevertheless,
 it was decided that Regillus should move with the
 whole fleet to the harbour of Ephesus in order to
 strike terror into the enemy.

XVI. Gaius Livius with two Roman quinqueremes
 and four Rhodian quadriremes and two undecked
 ships from Zmyrna was sent to Lycia, with orders to
 visit Rhodes first and inform them of the whole plan.
 The cities which he passed, Miletus, Myndus, Halicar-
 nassus, Cnidus, Cos, willingly executed his orders.
 When he came to Rhodes, at the same time he both
 explained for what purpose he was sent and asked
 their advice. With the approval of all and the
 addition of three quadriremes to the fleet which he
 had, he sailed to Patara. At first a favourable breeze
 bore them towards the city itself, and they hoped
 that they would accomplish something by causing a
 sudden panic; after the wind changed and the sea
 began to be tossed about with waves rolling this way
 and that, they did indeed win to the land by the use of

A.U.O.
564

5 quidem remis, ut tenerent terram; sed neque
circa urbem tuta statio erat, nec ante ostium portus
in salo stare poterant aspero mari¹ et nocte immi-
6 nente. Praetervecti moenia portum Phoenicunta,
minus duum milium spatio inde distantem, petiere,
7 navibus a maritima vi tutum; sed altae² insuper
imminebant rupes, quas celeriter oppidani adsumptis
regiis³ militibus, quos in praesidio habebant, ceperunt.
8 Adversus quos Livius, quamquam erant iniqua ac
difficilia ad exitus loca, Issaeos auxiliares et Zmyrnae-
9 orum expeditos iuvenes misit. Hi, dum missilibus
primo et adversus paucos levibus excursionibus⁴
laciescebatur magis quam conserebatur pugna, sus-
10 tinuerunt certamen; postquam plures ex urbe
adfluebant, et iam omnis multitudo effundebatur,
timor incessit Livium⁵ ne et auxiliares circumveniren-
11 tur et navibus etiam ab terra periculum esset. Ita
non milites solum sed etiam navales socios, remigum
turbam, quibus quisque poterat telis, armatos in
12 proelium eduxit. Tum quoque anceps pugna fuit,
neque⁶ milites solum aliquot, sed L. Apustius tu-
multuario proelio cecidit; postremo tamen fusi
fugatique sunt Lycii atque in urbem compulsi, et
Romani cum haud incruenta victoria ad naves re-
13 dierunt. Inde in Telmessicum profecti sinum, qui
latere uno Cariam altero Lyciam contingit, omisso

¹ peruicerunt . . . mari 5: om. B.² altae 5: aliae B.³ regiis 5: regis B.⁴ levibus excursionibus ed. Frobeniana 1535: levibus B5:
leuibibus et excursionibus M.⁵ liuium 5: om. B.

their oars despite the wind; but they could neither find safe anchorage near the city nor stand off shore before the entrance to the harbour in deep water since the sea was rough and night was coming on. Passing the walls they made for the port of Phoenicus, less than two miles distant from there, which was sheltered for the ships from the violence of the sea; but high cliffs towering above it threatened it, and these the citizens, joining the troops of the king whom they had as a garrison, quickly seized. Against them Livius, although the country was uneven and difficult to traverse, sent the auxiliaries from Issa and the light-armed young men from Zmyrna. These, as long as there was a harassing attack with missiles, at the beginning, with small raids against parties of a few men rather than a regular engagement, sustained the contest; when larger numbers were rushing out of the city and now the whole population was pouring forth, fear struck Livius lest the auxiliaries should be surrounded and even the ships endangered from the shore. So he led out to the fight not only the marines but also the naval allies and even the throng of rowers, using whatever weapons each could find. Then also there was a battle of uncertain issue, and not only were some soldiers lost, but Lucius Apustius fell in this desultory fighting; finally, however, the Lycians were routed and put to flight and driven into the city, and the Romans, having won a victory not without bloodshed, returned to their ships. Then he set out for the gulf of Telmessus, which touches Caria on one side and Lycia on the

⁶ neque ed. Frobeniana 1535: non quod siue non quid B: non quod et non quidem 5.

A.U.C.
564

consilio Patara amplius temptandi¹ Rhodii domum
14 dimissi sunt, Livius praetervectus Asiam in Graeciam
transmisit, ut conventis Scipionibus, qui tum circa
Thessaliam erant, in Italiam traiceret.

XVII. Aemilius postquam omissas in Lycia res
et Livium profectum in Italiam² cognovit, cum ipse
ab Epheso tempestate repulsus irritum incepto Samum
2 revertisset, turpe ratus temptata frustra Patara esse,
proficisci eo³ tota classe et summa vi adgredi urbem
3 statuit. Miletum et ceteram oram sociorum praeter-
vecti in Bargylitico sinu escensionem⁴ ad Iasum fe-
cerunt. Urbem regium tenebat praesidium; agrum
4 circa Romani hostiliter depopulati sunt. Missis
deinde, qui per colloquia principum et magistratuum
temptarent animos, postquam nihil in potestate sua
responderunt esse, ad urbem oppugnandam ducit.
5 Erant Iasensium exules cum Romanis; ii⁵ frequentes
Rhodios orare institerunt ne urbem et vicinam sibi et
cognatam innoxiam perire sinerent; sibi exilii
nullam aliam causam esse quam fidem erga Ro-
6 manos; eadem vi regionum,⁶ qua ipsi pulsi sint,⁷
teneri eos qui in urbe maneat; omnium Iasensium

¹ omisso consilio Patara amp. temp. *Weissenborn*, XXXIII.
xx. 10 *conferens*: pataram amp. temp. *B*: omisso patara
amp. temp. *Γ*: omissa conatu et omissa spe amp. temp. *alii*.

² in Italiam *Γ*: *om. B*.

³ eo *Γ*: *om. B*.

⁴ escensionem *edd. vet.*: descensionem *BΓ*.

⁵ ii *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ibi *M*: *om. BΓ*.

⁶ regionum *Γ*: religionum *B*.

⁷ sint *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: sunt *BΓ*.

¹ Livius should have reported to Aemilius before he left, but chose to disregard military etiquette. The nature of his business with the consul is not disclosed. The last sentence

other, and giving up any design of further action B.C. 190
against Patara, the Rhodians were sent home and
Livius, skirting Asia, crossed to Greece, in order
that after conferring with the Scipios, who were then
around Thessaly, he might cross to Italy.

XVII. When Aemilius learned that the campaign
in Lycia had been abandoned and that Livius had
departed for Italy,¹ since he himself had been
driven back from Ephesus by a storm and had returned
to Samos without accomplishing anything, thinking
that it was disgraceful that Patara had been fruit-
lessly attacked, he determined to proceed thither
with his entire fleet and attack the city with all his
resources. Sailing past Miletus and the rest of the
coast held by the allies, in the gulf of Bargyliae they
marched up inland to Iasus. A garrison belonging to
the king held the city; the Romans, in the manner
of enemies, devastated the surrounding fields. Then
he sent agents to test the sentiments of the magis-
trates and important citizens by conferences, and
when they replied that it was not at all in their
power to decide, he led his troops to attack the city.
There were exiles from Iasus among the Romans;
and they in great numbers began to appeal to the
Rhodians not to allow an innocent city, both neigh-
bouring and related to them, to be destroyed; their
own sole cause for exile was their fidelity to the
Romans; the same might of the royal garrison, by
which they themselves had been driven out, con-
strained those who remained in the city; there was

of the preceding chapter shows that Livy thought of these
events as contemporaneous with those related in chaps. vi.-vii.
above, but he is probably wrong in his estimate of the time
consumed.

A.U.C.
564

- unam mentem esse, ut servitutem regiam effugerent.
 7 Rhodii moti precibus Eumene etiam rege adsumpto
 simul suas necessitudines commemorando, simul
 obsessae regio praesidio urbis casum miserando
 8 pervicerunt, ut oppugnatione abstinereetur. Pro-
 fecti inde pacatis ceteris cum oram Asiae legerent,
 Loryma—portus adversus Rhodum est—pervene-
 9 runt. Ibi in principiis sermo primo inter tribunos
 militum secretus oritur, deinde ad aures ipsius
 Aemilii pervenit, abduci classem ab Epheso, ab suo
 bello, ut ab tergo liber relictus hostis in tot pro-
 pinquas sociorum urbes omnia impune conari posset.
 10 Movere ea Aemilium; vocatosque Rhodios cum
 percontatus esset, num¹ Pataris universa classis
 in portu stare posset, cum respondissent non posse,²
 causam nactus omittendae rei Samum naves reduxit.

XVIII. Per idem tempus Seleucus Antiochi filius,
 cum per omne hibernorum tempus exercitum in
 Aeolide continuisset partim sociis ferendo opem,
 2 partim quos in societatem perlicere non poterat
 depopulandis, transire in³ fines regni Eumenis,
 dum is⁴ procul ab domo cum Romanis et Rhodiis
 3 Lyciae maritima oppugnaret, statuit. Ad Elaeam
 primo infestis signis accessit; deinde omissa oppug-
 natione urbis agros hostiliter depopulatus ad caput

¹ num *Weissenborn*: utrum nam, *fortasse recte B*?

² non posse *5*: *om. B.*

³ in *5*: *om. B.*

⁴ is *5*: *om. B.*

¹ The Roman naval operations of this period seem peculiarly aimless, and to lack even the virtue of being good training exercises. The case of Livius shows that they had some intelligence regarding the movements of the consul, yet

one single purpose among all the Iasenses, to escape B.C. 190
 from their enslavement to the king. The Rhodians,
 moved by their prayers, and receiving also the sup-
 port of King Eumenes, both by speaking of their own
 relationship and at the same time by lamenting the
 hard plight of a city dominated by a royal garrison,
 prevailed upon the praetor to abandon the siege.
 Leaving there, with everything else pacified, as they
 skirted the coast of Asia they came to Loryma—this
 is a harbour opposite Rhodes. There some secret
 talk first began among the military tribunes in their
 quarters and finally reached the ears of Aemilius
 himself—that the fleet was drawn away from Ephesus
 and from their own war that the enemy, left free
 in the rear, might with complete impunity make
 any venture against so many near-by cities of the
 allies. This gossip worried Aemilius; when he
 summoned the Rhodians and asked them whether
 the whole fleet could be sheltered in the harbour
 at Patara and they had replied in the negative, he
 found this pretext for abandoning the expedition
 and took the ships back to Samos.¹

XVIII. About the same time Seleucus, the son of
 Antiochus, after holding the army in Aeolis for the
 whole period of the winter, partly assisting his allies,
 partly plundering those whom he could not win over
 to his alliance, decided to invade the territory of
 Eumenes while he was far from home, engaged with
 the Romans and Rhodians in the naval operations off
 Lycia. He first approached Elaea with his army
 formed for battle; then, abandoning the attack on
 the city, he devastated the fields in hostile fashion,

Aemilius shows no disposition to co-operate in any really
 effective fashion.

A.U.C.
564

- arcemque regni Pergamum ducit oppugnandam.
- 4 Attalus primo stationibus ante urbem positis et excursionibus levisque¹ armaturae magis lacessebat quam sustinebat hostem; postremo cum per levia certamina expertus nulla parte virium se parem esse intra moenia se recepisset, obsideri urbs coepta est.
- 6 Eodem ferme tempore² et Antiochus ab Apamea profectus Sardibus primum, deinde haud procul Seleuci castris ad caput Caici amnis stativa habuit cum magno exercitu mixto variis ex gentibus.
- 7 Plurimum terroris in³ Gallorum mercede conductis quattuor milibus erat.⁴ Hos paucis . . . admixtis⁵ ad pervastandum passim Pergamenum agrum milites misit.⁶ Quae postquam Samum nuntiata sunt, primo Eumenes avocatus domestico bello cum classe Elaeam petit; inde, cum praesto fuissent equites peditumque expediti, praesidio eorum tutus, priusquam hostes sentirent aut moverentur, Pergamum contendit.
- 9 Ibi rursus⁷ levia per excursiones proelia fieri coepta Eumene summae rei discrimen haud dubie detractante.⁸ Paucos post dies Romana Rhodiaque classis ut regi opem ferrent, Elaeam ab Samo venerunt.
- 10 Quos ubi exposuisse copias Elaeae et tot classes in unum convenisse portum Antiocho adlatum est, et sub⁹ idem tempus audivit consulem cum exercitu

¹ levisque ς : et levis B.² ferme tempore *edd. vet.*: tempore ferme B ς .³ in *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: om. B.⁴ erat ς : om. B.⁵ paucis . . . admixtis *Weissenborn*: paucis Dahis admixtis *II. J. Müller*, xxxviii. 3, *infra*, *conferens*: paucis admixtos B ς .⁶ misit ς : emisit B.⁷ ibi rursus ς : ubi B.⁸ detractante ς : retractante B.⁹ et sub ς : sub B.

and marched off to lay siege to Pergamum, the chief city and citadel of the kingdom. Attalus¹ at first, stationing outposts before the city and organizing raids of the cavalry and light infantry, harassed rather than resisted the enemy; finally, when, after learning from such skirmishing that he was equal in no aspect of his strength, he had retired within the walls, the siege of the city began. About the same time Antiochus also set out from Apamea and established a base first at Sardis, then at the mouth of the Caicus river, with a great army composed of men of various nationalities. The greatest source of terror consisted of four thousand Gauls who served for pay. These troops, with a few others intermixed,² he sent to lay waste the territory of Pergamum in every direction. When the news of this reached Samos, Eumenes, called away by the war at home, first went to Elaea with his fleet; then, since cavalry and light infantry were at hand, protected by their guard, before the enemy discovered it or made any move, he hastened to Pergamum. Then again small battles began to take place, growing out of raids, Eumenes without doubt avoiding a decisive engagement. A few days later the Roman and Rhodian fleets came to Elaea from Samos to assist the king. When it was reported to Antiochus that they had landed their troops at Elaea and that so many fleets had assembled in one harbour, and when about the same time he had learned that the consul with his army was already in Macedonia and

¹ Attalus was the brother of Eumenes (XXXV. xxiii. 10).² Something has dropped out of the text. Various suggestions have been made as to what should be read, among them *Dahis*. I have been more non-committal.

A.U.C.
564

iam in Macedonia esse pararique, quae ad transitum Hellesponti opus essent, tempus venisse ratus, 11 priusquam terra marique simul urgeretur, agendi de pace ¹ tumultum quendam adversus Elaeam castris 12 cepit; ibi peditum omnibus copiis ² relictis cum equitatu—erant autem sex milia equitum—in campos sub ipsa Elaeae moenia descendit misso caduceatore ad Aemilium, velle se de pace agere.

XIX. Aemilius Eumene a Pergamo accito adhibitis et Rhodiis consilium habuit. Rhodii haud aspernari pacem; Eumenes nec honestum dicere esse eo tempore de pace agi, nec exitum rei imponi posse: 2 “qui enim” inquit “aut honeste, inclusi moenibus ³ et obsessi, velut leges pacis accipiemus? Aut cui rata ista pax erit, quam sine consule, non ex auctoritate senatus, non iussu populi Romani pepigerimus? 3 Quaero enim pace per te facta rediturusne extemplo in Italiam sis, classem exercitumque deducturus, an expectaturus, quid de ea re consuli placeat, quid 4 senatus censeat aut populus iubeat? Restat ergo ut maneat in Asia, et rursus in hiberna copiae reductae omisso bello exhauriant commeatibus praebendis 5 socios, deinde, ⁴ si ita visum iis sit, penes quos potestas

¹ agendi de pace *ed. Moguntina*: agendi de pace esse *B*.

² copiis 5: *om. B*.

³ moenibus 5: *om. B*.

⁴ deinde 5: *om. B*.

¹ Polybius (XXI. x.) gives a more detailed account.

² While Aemilius had the *imperium*, that of Scipio was superior to his, and it is not certain that Aemilius had any authority on land, since he had been assigned the *maritima provincia* (ii. 10 above). There would surely have been a dispute had Aemilius concluded a peace treaty under such conditions, before the arrival of the consul, and in any case

was making ready what was necessary for the passage *B.C. 190* of the Hellespont, he decided that the time had come, before he should be beset on land and sea at once, to treat for peace, and he occupied with his camp a hill facing Elaea; there, leaving all his infantry forces in camp, with the cavalry, numbering six thousand, he went down into the open country under the very walls of Elaea and sent a herald to Aemilius to say that he wished to discuss the question of peace.¹

XIX. Aemilius summoned Eumenes from Pergamum and the Rhodians and held a council. The Rhodians did not disdain peace; Eumenes maintained that it was neither honourable to discuss the question of peace at that time nor possible to reach a conclusion to the discussion: “For how,” he said, “shall we honourably, shut up and besieged within our walls, accept what may be called terms of peace? Again, in whose eyes will this be a valid peace, which we shall conclude without a consul, with no authority of the senate, without the order of the Roman people? Now I ask, if peace is made by *you*, will you return immediately to Rome and withdraw your fleet and army, or wait to see what the consul’s pleasure is regarding it, what the senate decrees, or what the people orders?”² And so the result is that you stay in Asia and that your forces, led back once more to their winter stations, abandoning the war, exhaust your allies with furnishing supplies, and then, if it seems proper to those with whom the authority lies, start

the ratification of senate and assembly was necessary. The position of Eumenes is sound in Roman constitutional practice, as well as consistent with his own dignity. He did not wish Antiochus to use the siege of Pergamum as something with which to bargain.

A.U.C.
564

fuert, instauremus novum de integro bellum, quod possumus, si ex hoc impetu rerum nihil prolatando remittitur, ante hiemem diis volentibus perfecisse."

- 6 Haec sententia vicit, responsumque Antiocho est ante consulis adventum de pace agi non posse.
7 Antiochus pace nequiquam temptata, evastatis Elaeensium primum, deinde Pergamenorum agris, relicto ibi Seleuco filio, Adramytteum hostiliter itinere facto petit agrum opulentum, quem vocant Thebes
8 campum, carmine Homeri nobilitatum; neque alio ullo loco Asiae maior regiis¹ militibus parta est praeda. Eodem Adramytteum, ut urbi praesidio essent, navibus circumvecti Aemilius et Eumenes venerunt.

- XX. Per eosdem forte dies Elaeam ex Achaia mille pedites cum centum equitibus, Diophane omnibus iis copiis praeposito, accesserunt, quos egressos navibus obviam missi ab Attalo nocte
2 Pergamum deduxerunt. Veterani omnes et periti belli erant, et ipse dux Philopoemenis, summi tum omnium Graecorum imperatoris, discipulus. Qui biduum simul ad quietem hominum equorumque et ad visendas hostium stationes, quibus locis temporibusque accederent reciperentque sese, sumpserunt.
3 Ad radices fere collis in quo posita urbs est regii succedebant; ita libera ab tergo populatio erat. Nullo ab urbe, ne in stationes quidem qui² procul
4 iacularetur, excurrente, postquam semel, compulsi metu, se moenibus incluserunt, contemptus eorum

¹ regiis 5: om. B.² qui *edd. vet.*: om. B5.¹ The city, but not the plain, of Thebe is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* I. 366, etc.).² Cf. XXXVI. xxxi. 6.³ Cf. XXXV. xxv. 7, etc.

wholly afresh a new war, although this war, if there is no slackening, through delay, of the impetus we now have, we can have finished, with the aid of the gods, before winter." This argument prevailed, and the answer was given to Antiochus that until the arrival of the consul the question of peace could not be discussed. Antiochus, having tried in vain for peace, devastated first the lands of the Elaeans, then of the Pergamenians, and leaving there his son Seleucus, marching as though through a hostile country to Adramytteum, sought the rich land which they call the plain of Thebe, celebrated in the poem of Homer,¹ and in no place in Asia was richer booty won by the king's troops. Likewise to Adramytteum came Aemilius and Eumenes, brought thither by the fleet.

XX. About this time there arrived at Elaea from Achaia one thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry, all under the command of Diophanes,² and when they debarked guides, sent by Attalus to meet them, escorted them by night to Pergamum. They were all veterans and skilled in war, and their leader too was a pupil of Philopoemen,³ at that time the foremost general of all the Greeks. They took two days for the double purpose of resting men and horses and reconnoitring the enemy's dispositions and learning at what times and places they advanced and retired. The king's troops would come up to about the base of the hill on which the town stood; thus the rear area was open for foraging. When no one came out of the city, not even to throw a javelin from a distance against the outposts, after the people had once, under the impulse of fear, shut themselves up within the walls, a feeling of contempt for them and hence carelessness arose among the forces of

B.C. 190

A.U.O.
564

et inde negligentia apud regios oritur. Non stratos,
 5 non infrenatos magna pars habebant equos; paucis
 ad arma et ordines relictis dilapsi ceteri sparserant
 se toto passim campo, pars ¹ in iuvenales lusus lasci-
 viamque versi, pars vescentes sub umbra, quidam
 6 somno etiam strati. Haec Diophanes ex alta urbe
 Pergamo contemplatus arma suos capere et ad
 portam praesto esse iubet; ipse Attalum adit et
 in animo sibi esse dixit hostium stationem temptare.
 7 Aegre id permittente Attalo, quippe qui centum
 equitibus adversus sescentos, mille peditibus cum
 quattuor milibus pugnaturum cerneret, porta egressus
 haud procul statione hostium, occasionem opperiens,
 8 consedit. Et qui Pergami erant amentiam magis
 quam audaciam credere esse, et hostes paulisper ²
 in eos versi, ut nihil moveri viderunt, nec ipsi quicquam
 ex solita negligentia, insuper etiam eludentes
 9 paucitatem, mutarunt. Diophanes quietos ³ ali-
 quamdiu suos, velut ad spectaculum modo eductos,
 10 continuit; postquam dilapsos ab ordinibus hostes
 vidit, peditibus quantum accelerare possent sequi
 iussis, ipse princeps inter equites cum turma sua,
 quam potuit effusissimis habenis, clamore ab omni
 simul pedite atque equite sublato stationem hostium
 11 improviso invadit. Non homines solum sed equi
 etiam territi, cum vincula abrupissent, trepidationem
 12 et tumultum inter suos fecerunt. Pauci stabant

¹ pars 5: *om. B.*² paulisper 5: *om. B.*³ quietos 5: *quietus B.*

the king. A large part of them had no saddles or A.C. 190
 bridles for their horses; a few being left with the
 arms and at their posts, the rest were scattered and
 dispersed here and there over the whole plain, some
 engaged in youthful play and pastime, some picnic-
 ing in shady spots, some even lying asleep. Dio-
 phanes, watching this from the high-lying city of
 Pergamum, ordered his men to take their arms and
 be ready at the gates; he himself went to Attalus
 and told him that it was his purpose to make an
 attempt on an outpost of the enemy. When Attalus
 allowed it reluctantly, seeing that there were one
 hundred cavalry against six hundred, one thousand
 infantry against four thousand, Diophanes marched
 out of the gate and took his place not far from
 the outpost of the enemy, watching his chance.
 Both the people in Pergamum believed this to be
 folly rather than fearlessness, and the enemy,
 having watched them for a while and seen no
 signs of activity, themselves made no change in
 their customary carelessness, especially since they
 were scornful of their small numbers. Diophanes
 kept his men quiet for a while, as if they had been
 led out merely to watch a show; when he saw
 that the enemy had broken ranks, ordering the
 infantry to follow as fast as they could, he
 himself, at the head of the cavalry with his own
 troop, the horses being given the loosest possible
 rein, and a shout raised at the same moment by
 every footman and trooper, attacked the outpost
 of the enemy without warning. Not the men alone
 but even the horses were terrified, and when
 they broke their halters they caused consternation
 and confusion among their own men. A few horses

A.U.C.
564

impavidi equi; eos ipsos non sternere, non infrenare aut escendere facile poterant multo maiorem quam pro numero equitum terrorem Achaeis inferentibus.

13 *Pedites vero*¹ ordinati et praeparati sparsos per negligentiam et semisomnos prope adorti sunt.

14 *Caedes passim fugaque per campos facta est. Diophanes secutus effusus, quoad tutum fuit, magno decore genti Achaeorum parto—spectaverant enim e moenibus Pergami non viri modo sed feminae etiam—in praesidium urbis redit.*

XXI. *Postero die regiae magis compositae et ordinatae stationes quingentis passibus longius ab urbe posuerunt castra, et Achaei eodem ferme tempore atque in eundem locum processerunt. Per multas horas intenti utrimque velut iam futurum impetum expectavere;*² *postquam haud procul occasu*³ *solis redeundi*⁴ *in castra tempus erat, regii signis collatis abire agmine ad iter magis quam*⁵ *ad pugnam composito coepere. Quievit Diophanes dum in conspectu erant; deinde eodem*⁶ *quo pridie impetu in postremum agmen incurrit, tantumque rursus pavoris ac tumultus incussit ut, cum terga caederentur, nemo pugnandi causa restiterit; trepidantesque et vix ordinem agminis servantes in castra*⁴ *compulsi sunt. Haec Achaeorum audacia Seleucum ex agro Pergameno movere castra coegit.*

*Antiochus postquam Romanos ad tuendum Adramytteum venisse*⁶ *audivit, ea quidem urbe*

¹ *pedites uero* ς : *uero pedites* *B.*

² *expectavere* ς : *expectare* *B.*

³ *occasu* ς : *occasus* *B.*

⁴ *redeundi* ς : *redeunt* *B.*

⁵ *eodem* ς : *eo* *B.*

⁶ *uenisse* ς : *om.* *B.*

stood fearlessly; even these they could not easily saddle or bridle or mount, the Achaeans causing far more terror than was warranted by the number of troopers. But the infantry, in formation and ready, attacked men who were scattered around in disorder and nigh half asleep. There was slaughter and flight everywhere through the plains. Diophanes pursued the fugitives as far as it was safe, having won great glory for the Achaean people—for both men and women were watching from the walls of Pergamum—and returned to the garrisoning of the city.

XXI. The next day the king's outguards with better order and discipline established themselves five hundred paces farther from the city, and the Achaeans came out about the same time and to the same place. For many hours both parties waited on the alert as if an attack were about to come; after the time, not far from sunset, of returning to camp had arrived, the royal troops, grouped around their standards,¹ began to depart in a formation adapted to marching rather than fighting. Diophanes remained quiet as long as they were in sight; then, with the same impetuosity as the day before, he fell violently upon the rear and caused again so much panic and dismay that although they were being cut down from behind no one stood fast to fight; trembling and with difficulty keeping their march-formation they were driven back into camp. This bold conduct of the Achaeans forced Seleucus to move his camp from the country of Pergamum.

When Antiochus heard that the Romans had come to defend Adramytteum, he left that city, at any

¹ This meaning of the phrase is unusual but seems to be required here.

A.U.C.
564

abstinuit; depopulatus agros Peraeam inde, coloniam
 5 Mitylenaeorum, expugnavit. Cotton et Corylenus et
 Aphrodisias et Prinne primo impetu captae sunt.
 6 Inde per Thyatiram Sardis rediit. Seleucus in ora
 maritima permanens aliis terrori erat, aliis praesidio.
 Classis Romana cum Eumene Rhodiisque Mitylenen
 primo, inde retro unde profecta erat Elaeam redit.
 7 Inde Phocaeam petentes ad insulam quam Bacchium
 vocant—imminet urbi Phocaeensium—appulerunt et,
 quibus ante abstinerant templis signisque—egregie
 autem exornata insula erat—cum hostiliter diri-
 8 puissent, ad ipsam urbem transmiserunt. Eam
 divisim inter se partibus cum oppugnarent et videretur
 sine operibus, armis scalisque capi posse, missum
 ab Antiocho praesidium trium milium armatorum
 9 cum intrasset urbem, extemplo oppugnatione ommissa
 classis ad insulam se recepit nihil aliud quam de-
 populato circa urbem hostium agro.

XXII. Inde placuit Eumenen domum dimitti
 et¹ praeparare consuli atque exercitui, quae ad
 transitum Hellesponti opus essent, Romanam Rhodi-
 amque classem redire Samum atque ibi in statione
 esse, ne Polyxenidas ab Epheso moveret. Rex
 2 Elaeam, Romani ac Rhodii Samum redierunt. Ibi
 M. Aemilius frater praetoris decessit.

Rhodii celebratis exsequiis adversus classem, quam
 fama erat ex Syria venire, tredecim suis navibus

¹ et 5: *om. B.*

¹ I.e., the subordinate commanders received orders to undertake specific missions in the attack: cf. XXV. xxx. 6.

rate, alone; but after laying waste their lands he B.C. 190
 took by storm Peraea, a colony of the Mitylenaeans.
 Cotto and Corylenus and Aphrodisias and Prinne fell
 at the first assault. Thence he returned to Sardis
 by way of Thyatira. Seleucus, remaining on the sea-
 coast, was a source of fear to some and of assistance
 to others. The Roman fleet with Eumenes and the
 Rhodians went first to Mitylene and then returned
 to Elaea whence it had come. Then, on their way
 to Phocaea, they put in at the island which they call
 Bacchium—it overlooks the city of the Phocaeans—
 and when they had plundered like enemies the
 temples and shrines which they had not previously
 laid hands on—the island was beautifully adorned—
 they crossed to the city itself. Dividing the tasks¹
 among themselves, they attacked it, and it seemed
 possible to take it without siege-works, by assault
 and escalade, but a garrison of three thousand
 armed soldiers, sent by Antiochus, entered the city,
 and at once the attack was abandoned and the fleet
 returned to the island, without doing anything other
 than devastating the farms of the enemy around the
 town.

XXII. It was then determined that Eumenes
 should return home and make ready for the consul
 and the army whatever was necessary for the cross-
 ing of the Hellespont, and that the Roman and
 Rhodian fleets should return to Samos and there
 remain on guard lest Polyxenidas should move from
 Ephesus. The king returned to Elaea, the Romans
 and Rhodians to Samos. There Marcus Aemilius,
 the brother of the praetor, died.

The Rhodians, when his funeral was over, with
 thirteen of their own ships and one Coan quin-

A.U.C.
564

et una Coa quinquere mi, altera Cnidia Rhodum, ut
 3 ibi in statione essent, profecti sunt. Biduo ante
 quam Eudamus cum classe ab Samo veniret, tredecim
 ab Rhodo naves cum Pamphilida praefecto adversus
 eandem Syriacam classem missae adsumptis quattuor¹
 navibus, quae Cariae praesidio erant, oppugnantibus
 regiis Daedala et quaedam alia Peraeae castella
 obsidione exemerunt. Eudamum confestim exire
 4 placuit. Additae huic quoque sunt ad eam classem,
 5 quam habebat, sex² apertae naves. Profectus cum
 quantum accelerare poterat maturasset, ad portum
 quem Megisten vocant praegressos consequitur.
 Inde uno agmine Phaselidem cum venissent, optimum
 visum est ibi hostem opperiri.

XXIII. In confinio Lyciae et Pamphylicae Phaselis
 est; prominet penitus in altum conspiciturque
 prima terrarum Rhodum a Cilicia petentibus et
 procul navium praebet prospectum. Eo maxime,
 ut in obvio classi hostium essent, electus locus est;
 2 ceterum, quod non providerunt, et loco gravi et
 tempore anni—medium enim aestatis erat—ad hoc
 insolito odore ingruere morbi vulgo, maxime in
 3 remiges, coeperunt. Cuius pestilentiae metu pro-
 fecti cum praeterveherentur Pamphylium sinum, ad
 Eurymedontem amnem appulsa classe audiunt ab
 4 Aspendiis ad Sidam hostes esse. Tardius navi-

¹ quattuor 5: *om. B.*² sex 5: *tres BM.*¹ Cf. viii. 3 above.

quereme and another from Cnidus, set out for Rhodes, *B.C.* 190
 so as to be on guard there against a fleet which
 was reported to be coming from Syria.¹ Two days
 before Eudamus with his fleet arrived from Samos,
 thirteen ships from Rhodes, with Pamphilidas in
 command, had been sent against the same Syrian
 fleet and, picking up four ships which were guarding
 Caria, they relieved the blockade of Daedala and
 several other fortresses of Peraea which were be-
 sieged by the king's troops. It was decided that
 Eudamus should leave at once. Six undecked vessels
 were given to him in addition to the fleet which he
 had. When he had departed and made all possible
 haste, he overtook the ships which had gone on
 ahead at the harbour which they call Megiste.
 After proceeding to Phaselis in one column, it
 seemed best to await the enemy there.

XXIII. Phaselis is on the border of Lycia and
 Pamphylia; it projects far into the deep, and is the
 first land sighted by travellers who are going to
 Rhodes from Cilicia and it allows ships to be
 sighted from afar. For that reason especially
 the place was chosen, so that they might be
 ready to meet the hostile fleet; but, and this they
 had not foreseen, on account both of the un-
 healthy country and of the time of year—for it
 was midsummer—besides, from the unaccustomed
 odour, diseases began to spread generally, es-
 pecially among the rowers. In fear of this epi-
 demic, they went on, and when they were sailing
 past the gulf of Pamphylia, putting in at the
 mouth of the river Eurymedon, they learned from
 the people of Aspendus that the enemy was off
 Sida. The king's navy had sailed rather slowly by

A.U.C.
564

gaverant regii adverso tempore etesiarum, quod velut statum favoniis ventis est. Rhodiorum duae et triginta quadriremes et quattuor triremes fuere; 5 regia classis septem et triginta maioris formae navium erat;¹ in quibus tres hepteres, quattuor hexeres habebat. Praeter has decem triremes erant. Et hi adesse hostes ex specula quadam 6 cognoverunt. Utraque classis postero die luce prima, tamquam eo die pugnatura, e portu movit; et postquam superavere Rhodii promunturium quod ab Sida prominet in altum, extemplo et conspecti 7 ab hostibus sunt et ipsi eos viderunt. Ab regiis² sinistro cornu, quod ab alto obiectum erat, Hannibal, dextro Apollonius, purpuratorum unus, praeerat; 8 et iam in frontem derectas³ habebant naves. Rhodii longo agmine veniebant; prima praetoria navis Eudami erat; cogebat agmen⁴ Chariclitus; Pamphilidas mediae classi praeerat. Eudamus postquam hostium aciem instructam et paratam ad concurrendum vidit, et ipse in altum evehitur et deinceps quae sequebantur servantes⁵ ordinem in frontem derigere 10 iubet. Ea res primo⁶ tumultum praebuit; nam nec sic in altum⁷ evectus erat ut⁸ ordo omnium navium ad terram explicari posset, et festinans ipse

¹ formae navium erat 5: ferme navium erant B.

² regiis J. F. Gronovius: regis BM: regio 5.

³ derectas 5: decretas B.

⁴ agmen 5: om. B.

⁵ servantes 5: serentis B.

⁶ primo 5: primum B.

⁷ nec sic in altum ed. Frobeniana 1535: nec in alto B: eudamus in altum M5.

⁸ ut 5: om. B.

¹ The use of *statum* here is peculiar. Usually employed to denote the appointment of days for festivals and similar occasions, it here suggests that this season was reserved (by Nature) for the etesian winds.

reason of the unfavourable season of the etesian B.C. 190 gales, which is, as it were, allotted to¹ winds from the north-west. There were thirty-two² Rhodian quadriremes and four triremes; the royal fleet consisted of thirty-seven ships of larger size; among them they had three of seven banks of oars and four of six. Besides these there were ten triremes. And they saw from a certain watch-tower that the enemy was close at hand. At daybreak next day both fleets moved out of port as if to fight that day; and after the Rhodians had passed the promontory which juts out from Sida into the sea, they were seen by the enemy and sighted them as well. On the side of the king's fleet, on the left flank, which extended into open water, Hannibal was in command; on the right, Apollonius, one of the nobles; and already they had the ships formed in a straight line. The Rhodians were approaching in a long column; first was the flagship of Eudamus; Chariclitus brought up the rear; Pamphilidas was in command of the centre of the fleet. When Eudamus saw the enemy arrayed and ready to engage, he too sailed out into deep water and directed the following ships, keeping their relative positions to one another, to form in a straight line. This order at first produced confusion; for he had not gone far enough out to sea to permit the array of all the ships to form in line toward the shore,³

¹ This number cannot be made to agree with those given in xxii. 2-4 above.

³ The manoeuvre described is that of forming line to the left. The flagship moved at a right oblique but failed to gain enough distance to the right to make room for the rear ships. Eudamus may have misjudged the distance or have been in too great haste; the sixth ship also moved off at too acute an angle to the original direction and increased the crowding on the left.

A. U. C.
564

praepropere cum quinque solis navibus Hannibali occurrit; ceteri quia in frontem derigere iussi erant, 11 non sequebantur. Extremo agmini loci nihil ad terram relictum erat; trepidantibusque iis inter se iam in dextro cornu adversus Hannibalem pugnabatur.

XXIV. Sed momento temporis et navium virtus et usus maritimae rei terrorem omnem Rhodiis 2 dempsit. Nam et in altum celeriter evectae naves locum post se quaeque venienti ad terram dedere, et si qua concurrerat rostro cum hostium nave, aut proram lacerabat, aut remos detergebat, aut libero inter ordines discursu praetervecta in puppim impe- 3 tum dabat. Maxime exterruit heptemis regia a multo minore Rhodia nave uno ictu demersa; itaque iam¹ haud dubie dextrum cornu hostium in fugam 4 inclinabat.² Eudamum in alto multitudine navium maxime Hannibal, ceteris omnibus longe praestantem, urgebat, et circumvenisset, ni signo sublato ex praetoria nave, quo dispersam classem in unum colligi mos erat, omnes quae in dextro cornu vicerant 5 naves ad opem ferendam suis concurrissent. Tum et Hannibal quaeque circa eum naves erant capessunt fugam; nec insequi Rhodii ex magna parte

¹ iam ς : *om. B.*

² inclinabat ς : *declinabat B.*

¹ The congestion described in the preceding note automatically corrected itself, the ships naturally turning to the right where the battle was on. The ships that broke through the hostile line gave still more space for manoeuvre.

² These were the standard forms of naval attack. The Romans, although they had no native instinct for naval warfare, introduced some familiar and effective variations on these tactics.

³ This statement must not be taken too literally: cf. sect. 9 below.

and in his excessive haste, with only five ships, B.O. 190 he encountered Hannibal; the rest, because they had been ordered to form in line, did not follow. There was no room left on the land side for the tail of the column; while they were entangled with one another the battle with Hannibal was already begun on the right flank.

XXIV. But in an instant of time both the excellence of their ships and their experience in naval warfare took away all fear from the Rhodians. For the ships, sailing quickly out into deep water, each gave the one in rear a place on the land side,¹ and, moreover, if a ship clashed head on with a ship of the enemy, it either crushed its prow or broke off its oars or, passing through the open intervals between the files, it attacked the stern.² The greatest fear was caused when a seven-banked ship of the king was sunk³ with one blow by a much smaller Rhodian vessel; so now without question the right wing of the enemy was turned to flight. Eudamus, in the open, although he was superior in everything else, was hard pressed by Hannibal, particularly on account of the greater number of his ships, and Hannibal would have surrounded him had not the flagship of his fleet displayed the signal by which, as the custom is, a scattered fleet is collected into one place, and all the ships which had been victorious on the right⁴ flank had hurried off to bear aid to their comrades. Then Hannibal also and the ships which followed him began to retire; nor could the Rhodians pursue,

⁴ Livy appears here to change his point of view. The "right wing" of sect. 3 is that of the king's fleet, while the "right flank" here is that of the Rhodians. One or the other, however, may be a simple error on the part of Livy or a scribe.

A.U.C.
564

aegris et ob id celerius fessis remigibus potuerunt.
 6 Cum in alto ubi substiterant cibo reficerent vires,¹
 contemplatus Eudamus hostes claudas mutilatasque
 naves apertis navibus remulco trahentes, viginti
 paulo amplius integras abscedentes, e turri praetoriae
 navis silentio facto "exsurgite" inquit "et egregium
 7 spectaculum capessite oculis." Consurrexere omnes,
 contemplatique trepidationem fugamque hostium
 prope² una voce omnes ut sequerentur exclamaverunt.
 8 Ipsius Eudami multis ictibus vulnerata navis erat;
 Pamphilidam et Chariclitum insequi quoad putarent
 9 tutum iussit. Aliquamdiu secuti sunt; postquam
 terrae appropinquabat Hannibal, veriti ne include-
 rentur vento in hostium ora, ad Eudamum revecti
 hepterem captam, quae primo concursu icta erat,
 10 aegre Phaselidem pertraxerunt. Inde Rhodum non
 tam victoria laeti, quam alius alium accusantes, quod
 cum potuisset, non omnis submersa aut capta classis
 11 hostium foret, redierunt. Hannibal, ictus³ uno
 proelio adverso, ne tum quidem praetervehi Lyciam
 audebat, cum coniungi veteri regiae classi quam
 12 primum cuperet; et ne id ei facere liberum esset,
 Rhodii Chariclitum cum viginti navibus rostratis
 13 ad Patara et Megisten portum miserunt. Eudamum
 cum septem navibus maximis ex ea classe, cui prae-
 fuerat, Samum redire ad Romanos iusserunt, ut,
 quantum consilio, quantum auctoritate valeret,
 compelleret Romanos ad Patara expugnanda.

¹ reficerent vires 5: reficerentur BM.² prope 5: ac prope BM.³ ictus 5: uictus BM.

since many of their rowers were sick and for that B.C. 190
 reason more quickly exhausted. While they were
 restoring their strength with food in the open water,
 Eudamus watched the enemy towing their lame and
 crippled ships with hawsers from open vessels, and
 hardly more than twenty moving off undamaged,
 and from the bridge of the flagship he called for
 silence and exclaimed, "Stand up and look upon a
 glorious sight." Every man stood up, and seeing
 the confusion and panic of the enemy, they cried
 almost with one voice "Let us pursue." The ship
 of Eudamus himself had been damaged by many
 blows; but he ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus
 to follow as far as they deemed it safe. They
 pursued for some distance; but when Hannibal was
 close to land, fearing that they might be detained
 by the wind near a hostile coast, they returned to
 Eudamus, and with difficulty towed to Phaselis the
 captured seven-banked ship which had been struck
 at the first onset. Thence they returned to Rhodes,
 not so much rejoicing in their victory as blaming
 one another because, when it had been possible, the
 entire fleet of the enemy had not been sunk or cap-
 tured. Hannibal, discouraged by this one defeat, did
 not even then dare to pass Lycia, anxious though
 he was to join the old fleet of the king as soon as
 possible; and, that this course might not be open to
 him, the Rhodians sent Chariclitus with twenty
 beaked ships to Patara and the harbour of Megiste.
 Eudamus, with the seven largest ships of the fleet
 which he had commanded, they ordered to rejoin
 the Romans at Samos, in order that with whatever
 wisdom and whatever influence he had, he might
 urge the Romans to the capture of Patara.

A.U.C.
564

XXV. Magnam Romanis laetitiam prius victoriae
 2 nuntius, deinde adventus attulit Rhodiorum; et
 apparebat, si Rhodiis ea cura dempta fuisset, vacuos
 eos tuta eius regionis maria praestatueros. Sed
 profectio Antiochi ab Sardibus simul metus¹ ne
 opprimerentur maritimae urbes, abscedere custodia
 3 Ioniae atque Aeolidis prohibuerunt; Pamphilidam
 cum quattuor navibus tectis ad eam classem quae
 4 circa Patara erat miserunt. Antiochus non civita-
 tium modo quae circa se erant contrahebat praesidia,
 sed ad Prusiam Bithyniae regem legatos miserat
 litterasque, quibus transitum in Asiam Romanorum
 5 increpabat: venire eos ad omnia regna tollenda, ut
 nullum usquam in orbe² terrarum nisi Romanum
 6 imperium esset; Philippum, Nabim expugnatos; se
 tertium peti; ut quisque proximus ab oppresso sit,
 per omnes velut continens incendium pervasurum;
 7 ab se gradum in Bithyniam fore, quando Eumenes
 8 in voluntariam servitutem concessisset. His motum
 Prusiam litterae Scipionis consulis, sed magis fratris
 eius Africani, ab suspicione tali averterunt, qui
 praeter consuetudinem perpetuam populi Romani
 augendi omni honore regum sociorum maiestatem,
 domesticis ipse exemplis Prusiam ad promerendam
 9 amicitiam suam compulit: regulos se acceptos in

¹ simul metus *Heraeus*: *om.* B⁵.² in orbe *Madvig*: *orbis* B⁵.

¹ The "responsibility" apparently concerns Patara, which was strategically situated, both to threaten Rhodes and to bar the way to reinforcements coming to Antiochus from Syria by sea or land (cf. xv. 7-8 above). More pressing tasks,

XXV. Great joy was brought to the Romans first A.C. 190
 by the news of the victory and then by the coming of
 the Rhodians, and it was evident that if the Rhodians
 had been relieved of their present responsibility¹
 their hands would be free and they would guarantee
 the safety of the seas in that quarter. But it was
 the departure of Antiochus from Sardis, and at the
 same time the fear that the coast cities would be
 crushed, which prevented them from leaving the
 guarding of Ionia and Aeolis; the Rhodians sent
 Pamphilidas with four decked ships to the fleet which
 was off Patara. Antiochus was not only collecting
 reinforcements from the states which surrounded
 him, but had sent ambassadors and letters to Prusias,
 king of Bithynia, in which he complained of the
 crossing of the Romans into Asia: they were coming
 to destroy all kingdoms, so that in the whole world
 there might be no empire save that of Rome; Philip,
 Nabis, had been defeated; he himself was the third
 to be attacked; as each came next after the last
 destroyed, the fire, catching, so to speak, one after
 another in succession, would be everywhere; from
 himself their next step would be into Bithynia, since
 Eumenes had already given himself into voluntary
 slavery. Prusias, troubled by this message, was
 diverted from such suspicions by the letter of Scipio
 the consul, and more by the words of his brother
 Africanus, who, by citing the enduring tradition
 among the Roman people of increasing with every
 sign of honour the dignity of allied kings, and also,
 by giving examples from his personal experience,
 induced Prusias to merit his friendship: tribal chief-

however, prevent the Romans from repeating, on a larger
 scale, their previous unsuccessful expeditions against Patara.

A.U.C.
564

fidem in Hispania reges¹ reliquisse; Masinissam non in patrio modo locasse regno, sed in Syphacis, a quo ante expulsus fuisset, regnum imposuisse; et esse eum non Africae modo regum longe opulentissimum, sed toto in orbe terrarum cuivis regum vel maiestate vel viribus parem. Philippum et Nabim, hostes et bello superatos ab T. Quinctio, tamen in regno relictos. Philippo quidem anno priore etiam stipendium remissum et filium obsidem redditum; et quasdam civitates extra Macedoniam patientibus Romanis imperatoribus recepisse eum. In eadem dignitate et Nabim futurum fuisse, nisi eum suus primum furor, deinde fraus Aetolorum absumpsisset. Maxime confirmatus est animus regis, postquam ad eum C. Livius, qui praetor ante classi² praefuerat, legatus ab Roma venit et edocuit quanto et spes victoriae certior Romanis quam Antiocho et amicitia sanctorum firmiterque apud Romanos futura esset.

XXVI. Antiochus postquam a spe societatis Prusiae decidit, Ephesum ab Sardibus est profectus ad classem quae per aliquot menses instructa ac parata fuerat visendam, magis quia terrestribus copiis exercitum Romanum et duos Scipiones imperatores videbat sustineri non posse, quam quod res navalis ipsa per se aut temptata sibi umquam feliciter aut tunc magnae et certae fiduciae esset. Erat tamen momentum in praesentia spei, quod et magnam

¹ in Hispania reges *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: hispaniae regem *B*: hispaniae reges *Γ*. ² classi *Γ*: classis *B*: *om. M*.

¹ Polybius (XXI. xi) redistributes and rearranges the arguments of both sides, attributing to Prusias himself the fear mentioned in sect. 5, naming some of the *reguli* of sect. 9 and adding one in Illyria. There are small differences in the account of Nabis, but essentially the two chapters are the same in substance.

tains, taken under his protection in Spain, he had left kings; Masinissa he had not only established on his ancestral throne but had placed on that of Syphax, by whom he had been driven out before; and he was both by far the richest of the kings of Africa and equal, whether in majesty or in power, to any king whatsoever in the whole world. Philip and Nabis, enemies, defeated, too, in war by Titus Quinctius, had yet been left in their kingdoms. Philip the year before, in fact, had had his tribute cancelled and his hostage-son restored, and had recovered certain cities outside of Macedonia with the consent of the Roman generals. Nabis too would have been in the same position of honour had not his own madness and then the treachery of the Aetolians destroyed him. The favourable inclination of the king was especially strengthened after Gaius Livius, the commissioner, who as praetor earlier had commanded the fleet, came from Rome and showed him how much surer were the Roman prospects of victory than those of Antiochus and how friendship with the Romans would be more respected and dependable.¹

XXVI. When Antiochus lost his hope of an alliance with Prusias, he went to Ephesus from Sardis to inspect the fleet which for some months had been equipped and ready, more because he saw that with his land forces he could not withstand the Roman army and its generals, the two Scipios, than because he had ever tried actual combat by sea with much success or had at this time any great and assured confidence. There was, however, a reason for hope at the moment, in that he had heard, first, that the larger part of the Rhodian fleet was in the vicinity

A.U.C.
564

partem Rhodiae classis circa Patara esse et Eumenen regem cum omnibus navibus suis consuli obviam in
 4 Hellespontum profectum audierat; aliquid etiam inflabat animos classis Rhodia ad Samum per occa-
 5 sionem fraude praeparatam absumpta. His fretus, Polyxenida cum classe ad temptandam omni modo certaminis fortunam misso, ipse copias ad Notium ducit. Id oppidum Colophonium, mari imminens, abest a vetere Colophone duo ferme milia passuum.
 6 Et ipsam urbem suae potestatis esse volebat, adeo propinquam Epheso,¹ ut nihil terra marive ageret, quod non subiectum oculis Colophoniorum ac per
 7 eos notum extemplo Romanis esset, et hos² audita obsidione non dubitabat ad opem sociae urbi ferendam classem ab Samo moturos; eam occasionem Poly-
 8 xenidae ad rem gerendam fore. Igitur operibus oppugnare urbem aggressus, ad mare partibus duabus pariter munitionibus deductis, utrimque vineas et aggerem muro iniunxit et testudinibus
 9 arietes admovit. Quibus terrii malis Colophonii oratores Samum ad L. Aemilium, fidem praetoris
 10 populique Romani implorantes, miserunt. Aemilium et Sami segnis diu mora offendeat, nihil minus opinantem quam Polyxenidam, bis nequiquam ab se
 11 provocatum, potestatem pugnae facturum esse, et turpe existimabat Eumenis classem adiuvere consulem ad traiciendas in Asiam legiones, se Colophonis obsessae auxilio, incertam finem habituro, alligari.
 12 Eudamus Rhodius, qui et tenuerat eum Sami cupien-

¹ Epheso 5: *om. B.*² et hos *Madvig*: quos *Br.*

¹ The *testudo* is ordinarily a temporary device, formed by the overlapping shields of an attacking column in close formation; here it is a portable roof to cover a battering-ram and its crew.

of Patara and, second, that King Eumenes with all his ships had gone to meet the consul at the Hellespont; an additional stimulant to his spirits was the destruction of the Rhodian fleet at Samos under conditions attained by trickery. Relying on these circumstances, he sent Polyxenidas with the fleet to try fortune in any sort of engagement and himself led his troops to Notium. This is a town of Colophon, overlooking the sea, distant from old Colophon about two miles. And he wished to have the town itself in his hands, being so close to Ephesus that he could do nothing on land or sea which was not observed by the Colophonians, and through them was not immediately known to the Romans, and he had no doubt that when they heard of its siege they would move the fleet from Samos to bear aid to an allied city; this would be the opportunity for Polyxenidas to bring about an engagement. Therefore he began to lay siege to the city, constructing a line of fortifications down to the sea on each side alike, and in both ran mantlets and an outwork up to the wall and moved battering-rams under shelter.¹ Terrified by these misfortunes, the Colophonians sent to Lucius Aemilius the praetor at Samos representatives to beg for the protection of the praetor and the Roman people. Aemilius, idle at Samos, was chafing under the long delay, thinking of nothing less than that Polyxenidas, twice challenged by him in vain, would offer the opportunity for battle, and he thought it a disgrace that the fleet of Eumenes should assist the consul in transporting the legions into Asia while he was entangled in aiding the beleaguered Colophon, an operation of indefinite duration. Eudamus the Rhodian, who also had detained him at Samos,

B.C. 190

A.U.C.
564

tem proficisci in Hellespontum, cunctique instare
13 et dicere: quanto satius esse vel socios obsidione
eximere vel victam iam semel classem iterum vincere
et totam maris possessionem hosti¹ eripere, quam
desertis sociis, tradita Antiocho Asia terra marique
in Hellespontum, ubi satis esset Eumenis classis, ab
sua parte belli discedere.

XXVII. Profecti ab Samo ad petendos commeatus
consumptis iam omnibus Chium parabant traicere;
id erat horreum Romanis, eoque omnes ex Italia
2 missae onerariae derigebant cursum. Circumvecti
ab urbe ad aversa insulae—obiecta aquiloni ad Chium
et Erythras sunt—cum pararent traicere, litteris
certior fit praetor frumenti vim magnam Chium ex
Italia venisse, vinum portantes naves tempestatibus
3 retentas esse; simul adlatum est Teios regiae classi
commeatus benigne praebuisse, quinque milia vaso-
rum vini esse pollicitos. Teum ex medio cursu
classem repente avertit, aut volentibus iis usurus²
commeatu parato hostibus, aut ipsos pro hostibus
4 habiturus. Cum derexissent ad terram proras,
quindecim ferme eis naves circa Myonnesum apparu-
erunt, quas primo³ ex classe regia praetor esse ratus
institit⁴ sequi; apparuit deinde piraticos celoces et
5 lembos esse. Chiorum maritimam oram depopulati

¹ hosti *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B*.

² iis usurus *ε*: his usurum *B*.

³ primo *ε*: prime *B*.

⁴ institit *ε*: instituit *B*.

¹ Again we see the perplexities which lack of communica-
tions and of satisfactory liaison between army and navy
caused Aemilius. He probably had no instructions from the
consul as to the co-operation he expected or from the senate
as to his general policy. The multiplicity of possible lines

although he wished to leave for the Hellespont, and B.C. 190
all the others, kept urging him and saying: how much
better it would be either to relieve the allies from
siege or again to defeat the navy already once
defeated and to wrest completely from the enemy
his mastery of the sea than, abandoning the allies
and surrendering to Antiochus the land and sea of
Asia, to go off to the Hellespont, where the fleet of
Eumenes was sufficient, and run away from his own
share in the war.¹

XXVII. Leaving Samos to seek provisions, every-
thing being now consumed, they were preparing to
cross to Chios; this was the granary of the Romans,
and thither all the cargo-boats from Italy directed
their course. Sailing from the city to the other side
of the island—the side facing Chios and Erythrae is
exposed to the north wind—as they were preparing
to cross, the praetor was informed by letter that a
great quantity of grain had come from Italy, but the
ships carrying wine had been delayed by storms;
at the same time it was reported that the Teians had
generously offered stores to the king's fleet and had
promised five thousand casks of wine. When half-
way across he suddenly turned the fleet towards Teos,
intending either to use, with their consent, the pro-
visions prepared for the enemy, or to treat the Teians
as foes. When they had turned their prows towards
the land, about fifteen ships came into sight rounding
Myonnesus, which at first the praetor, thinking they
were from the king's fleet, started to pursue; then
it was seen that they were swift and light pirate-
vessels. They had plundered the sea-coast of the

of action resulted in his adopting none of them and in exposing
him to pressure from his allies.

A.U.C.
564

cum omnis generis praeda revertentes postquam
videre ex alto classem, in fugam verterunt. Et
celeritate superabant levioribus et ad id fabrefactis
6 navigiis, et propiores terrae erant; itaque prius-
quam appropinquaret classis, Myonnesum per-
fugerunt, unde se e portu ratus abstracturum naves,
7 ignarus loci sequebatur praetor. Myonnesus pro-
munturium inter Teum Samumque est. Ipse collis
est in modum metae in acutum cacumen a fundo
satis lato fastigatus¹; a continenti artae semitae
aditum habet,² a mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt,
ita ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in
altum, quam quae in statione sunt naves, promineant.³
8 Circa ea appropinquare non ausae naves, ne sub
ictu⁴ superstantium rupibus piratarum essent, diem
9 trivere. Tandem sub noctem vano incepto cum
abstitissent, Teum postero die accessere, et in portu
qui ab tergo urbis est—Geraesticum ipsi appellant—
navibus constitutis praetor ad depopulandum circa
urbem agrum emisit milites.

XXVIII. Teii, cum in oculis populatio esset,
oratores cum infulis et velamentis ad Romanum
2 miserunt. Quibus purgantibus civitatem omnis facti
dictique hostilis adversus Romanos, et iuvisse eos
commeatu⁵ classem hostium arguit, et quantum vini
Polyxenidae promisissent; quae si eadem Romanae

¹ fastigatus *ed. Romana* 1472: castigatus *B*: fatigatus *ς*.

² habet *ς*: habent *B*.

³ promineant *ς*: *om. B*.

⁴ sub ictu *ς*: subiecto *B*.

⁵ commeatu *ς*: omni commeatu *B*.

Chians and were returning with all sorts of booty B.C. 190
when they saw the fleet from the open sea and turned
to flight. They were both superior in speed, their
ships being lighter and designed with that in view,
and nearer the shore; so before the fleet approached
them they escaped to Myonnesus, and the praetor
followed, thinking that he would lure the ships out
of port, as he was ignorant of the place. Myonnesus
is a promontory between Teos and Samos. It is a
hill shaped like a cone terminating in a sharp point
from a fairly extensive base¹; from the mainland it
has an approach by a steep path, on the side of the
sea cliffs worn by the waves close it in, so that in some
places the overhanging rocks rise to a greater height
than do the ships which lie at anchor. In this
vicinity, not daring to approach lest they come
within range of the pirates posted on the cliffs, they
wasted a day. When at length at nightfall they
abandoned their fruitless undertaking, they came the
next day to Teos, and stationing the ships in the
harbour which is behind the town—the islanders
call it Geraesticus—the praetor sent out troops to
ravage the land around the city.

XXVIII. The Teans, when the plundering was
going on before their eyes, sent envoys with fillets and
badges of suppliants to the Romans. When they tried
to clear the state of any deed or word unfriendly to
the Romans, he both charged them with aiding the
fleet of the enemy with provisions and reminded them
how much wine they had promised Polyxenidas; if they
would give the Romans the same amount, he would

¹ The *meta* in the technical sense was a cone-shaped marker,
used in the circus to indicate how many laps of a race had been
finished.

A. U. C.
564

classi darent, revocaturum se a populatione militem;
 3 si minus, pro hostibus eos habiturum. Hoc tam triste
 responsum cum rettulissent legati, vocatur in contio-
 nem a magistratibus populus, ut quid agerent con-
 4 sultarent. Eo forte die Polyxenidas cum regia
 classe a Colophone profectus postquam movisse a
 Samo Romanos audivit et ad Myonnesum piratas
 persecutos Teiorum agrum depopulari, naves in
 5 Geraestico portu stare, ipse adversus Myonnesum
 in insula—Macrin nautici vocant—ancoras portu
 6 occulto iecit. Inde ex propinquo explorans quid
 hostes agerent, primo in magna spe fuit, quem ad
 modum Rhodiam classem ad Samum circumsessis ad
 exitum faucibus portus¹ expugnasset, sic et Roma-
 nam expugnaturum. Nec est dissimilis natura loci:
 7 promunturiis coeuntibus inter se ita clauditur portus,
 8 ut vix duae simul inde naves possint exire. Inde
 nocte occupare fauces Polyxenidas in animo habebat,
 et denis navibus ad promunturia stantibus, quae ab
 utroque cornu in latera exeuntium navium pugnarent,
 ex cetera classe, sicut ad Panhormum fecerat, armatis
 in littora expositis terra marique simul hostes oppri-
 9 mere. Quod non vanum ei consilium fuisset ni, cum
 Teii facturos se imperata promisissent, ad accipiendos
 commeatus aptius visum esset Romanis in eum
 portum, qui ante urbem est, classem transire.
 10 Dicitur et Eudamus Rhodius vitium alterius portus
 ostendisse, cum forte duae naves in arto ostio impli-
 11 citos remos fregissent; et inter alia id quoque movit

¹ portus 5: *om. B.*

recall his men from plundering; if not, he would A.C. 190
 treat them as enemies. When the envoys had taken
 back this threatening answer, the people was sum-
 moned to an assembly by the magistrates to consult
 as to what they should do. On that day, as it
 happened, Polyxenidas with the royal fleet left
 Colophon, and when he heard that the Romans had
 moved from Samos, had pursued the pirates to
 Myonnesus, and were devastating the fields of the
 Teians, while the ships lay in the harbour of Gerae-
 stus, he himself dropped anchor opposite Myonnesus
 in a concealed harbour of an island—the sailors
 call it Macris. Thence, reconnoitring at close range
 to see what the enemy was doing, he at first was very
 hopeful that as he had defeated the Rhodians at
 Samos by blockading the passage out of the harbour,
 so he would capture the Roman fleet. The nature of
 the place is not unlike: the headlands coming
 together close the harbour so that with difficulty
 two ships at a time can pass through. Polyxenidas
 then conceived the design of occupying the exit by
 night, and with ten ships standing off each promon-
 tory, which could attack from both flanks the sides
 of the ships as they came out, and of landing armed
 men from the rest of the fleet, as he had done at
 Panhormus, to attack the enemy by land and sea at
 once. This plan would not have failed had not the
 Romans, when the Teians had promised to do as
 they had been ordered, thought it more convenient
 to move the fleet around to the port which lies in front
 of the city, to receive the supplies. Also Eudamus
 the Rhodian is said to have called attention to a fault
 of the other harbour, when by chance two ships had
 broken their oars, entangled in the narrow entrance;

A.U.C.
564

praetorem, ut traduceret classem, quod ab terra periculum erat, haud procul inde Antiocho stativa habente.

XXIX. Traducta classe ad urbem ignaris omnibus egressi milites nautaeque sunt ad commeatus et
2 vinum maxime dividendum in naves, cum medio forte diei agrestis quidam ad praetorem adductus nuntiat alterum iam diem classem stare ad insulam Macrin, et paulo ante visas quasdam moveri tamquam ad
3 profectionem naves. Re subita percussus praetor tubicines canere iubet, ut si qui per agros palati essent redirent; tribunos in urbem mittit ad cogendos
4 milites nautasque in naves. Haud secus quam in repentino incendio aut capta urbe trepidatur, aliis in urbem currentibus ad suos revocandos, aliis ex urbe naves cursu repetentibus, incertisque¹ clamoribus, quibus ipsis tubae obstreperent, turbatis imperiis
5 tandem concursum ad naves est.² Vix suas quisque noscere aut adire prae tumultu poterat; trepidatumque cum periculo et in mari et in terra foret, ni partibus divisis Aemilius cum praetoria nave primus e portu in altum evectus, excipiens insequentes, suo
6 quamque ordine in frontem instruxisset, Eudamus Rhodiaque classis substitissent ad³ terram, ut et sine trepidatione conscenderent et ut quaeque parata
7 esset exiret navis. Ita et explicuere ordinem primae in conspectu praetoris, et coactum agmen

¹ incertisque ς : incertis *B*.² est ς : et *B*.³ ad ς : in *B*.¹ Cf. xxi. 8 above.

and among other things the praetor was induced to transfer the fleet by the fact that there was danger from the land, since Antiochus had his base at no great distance away. B.C. 190

XXIX. The fleet having moved over to the city without the knowledge of anyone, the marines and sailors landed to divide the provisions, and especially the wine, among the ships, when about midday a peasant was brought before the praetor and said that for two days now a fleet had anchored off the island of Macris and a little while before had been seen in motion as if getting ready for departure. The praetor, dismayed by this sudden crisis, ordered the trumpets sounded for the return of the men who were straggling through the fields and sent the tribunes to the town to muster the marines and sailors on ship-board. Just as in a sudden fire or at the capture of a city there was panic, some running to the city to summon their comrades, others hurrying at full speed from the town to the ships, with confused shouts and these almost drowned out by the trumpets, at length, despite conflicting orders they were assembled at the ships. Scarcely could any man know or go aboard his own vessel in the excitement; and there would have been a dangerous panic, both on sea and on land, if, distributing the tasks,¹ Aemilius with the flagship had not led the way out of the harbour into open water, drawing after him those that followed, and had arranged them in line, each in his own place, and Eudamus and the Rhodian fleet had not remained near the shore, so that both the embarkation was without confusion and each ship set forth as it was ready. So the ships in front opened up their line under the eyes of the praetor, and the Rhodians formed the

A. U. C.
564

ab Rhodiis est, instructaque acies, velut cernerent regios, in altum processit. Inter Myonnesum et Corycum promunturium erant, cum hostem conspexere. Et regia classis, binis in ordinem navibus longo agmine veniens, et ipsa aciem adversam explicuit laevo tantum evecta¹ cornu, ut amplecti et circuire dextrum cornu Romanorum posset. 9 Quod ubi Eudamus qui cogeabat agmen vidit, non posse aequare ordinem Romanos et tantum non iam circuii ab dextro cornu, concitat naves—et erant Rhodiae longe omnium celerrimae tota classe—aequatoque cornu praetoriae navi, in qua Polyxenidas erat, suam obiecit.

XXX. Iam totis classibus simul² ab omni parte pugna conserta erat. Ab Romanis octoginta naves pugnabant, ex quibus Rhodiae duae et viginti erant; 2 hostium classis undenonaginta navium fuit; maximae formae naves tres hexeres habebat, duas hepteres. Robore navium et virtute militum Romani longe praestabant,³ Rhodiae naves agilitate et arte gubernatorum et scientia remigum; maximo tamen 3 terrori hostibus fuere quae ignes prae se portabant, et quod unum iis⁴ ad Panhormum circumventis⁵ saluti fuerat, id tum maximum momentum ad 4 victoriam fuit. Nam metu ignis adversi regiae naves, ne prorae⁶ concurrerent, cum declinassent, neque ipsae ferire rostro hostem poterant, et obliquas se

¹ evecta 5: euecto B.

² classibus simul ed. Frobeniana 1535: simul classibus B5.

³ praestabant Madvig: rodios praestabant B5.

⁴ unum iis 5: unus is B.

⁵ circumventis 5: circumuectis B.

⁶ prorae Crévier: prope B: prora M.

rear of the column, and the line thus formed, as if B.C. 190 they saw the royal fleet, moved out into deep water. They were between Myonnesus and the promontory of Corycus when they sighted the enemy. And the king's fleet, advancing in a long column with two ships abreast, likewise formed in line facing the enemy, with its left flank so far extended that it could enfold and surround the right wing of the Romans. When Eudamus, who brought up the rear, perceived that the Romans could not extend their front to equal it and could not prevent their being encircled on the right of the line, he speeded up his ships—and the Rhodians were by far the fastest of all in the whole fleet—and making the flanks equally long he drove his own ship at the flagship, in which was Polyxenidas.

XXX. Now the engagement began through the entire fleets in every place at once. On the Roman side eighty ships were fighting, of which twenty-two were Rhodian; the fleet of the enemy consisted of eighty-nine vessels; of ships of the largest size they had three with six banks of oars and two with seven. In strength of ships and courage of soldiers the Romans were far the best, the Rhodian ships in quickness of movement and skill of pilots and dexterity of rowers; yet the greatest terror was caused the enemy by those which carried fire before their prows,¹ and that which was their sole source of safety at Panhormus when they were surrounded was at this time the greatest factor in their victory. For when, from fear of the flames in front of them, the royal ships had swerved to avoid the collision of their prows, they were unable to strike the enemy with their beaks,

¹ Cf. xi. 13 above and the note.

A.U.C.
564

5 ipsae ad ictus praebebant, et si qua concurrerat,
 obruebatur infuso igni, magisque ad incendium quam
 6 ad proelium trepidabant. Plurimum tamen, quae
 solet, militum virtus in bello valuit. Mediam
 namque aciem hostium Romani cum rupissent,
 circumvecti ab tergo pugnantibus adversus Rhodios
 regiis sese obiecere; momentoque temporis et media
 acies Antiocho et laevo cornu circumventae¹ naves
 7 mergebantur. Dexter pars integra sociorum magis
 clade quam suo periculo terrebantur; ceterum,
 postquam alias circumventas, praetoriam navem
 Polyxenidae relictis sociis vela dantem videre,
 sublatis raptim dolonibus—et erat secundus petenti-
 bus Ephesum ventus—capessunt fugam quadraginta
 duabus navibus in ea pugna amissis, quarum decem
 8 tres captae in potestatem hostium venerunt, ceterae
 9 incensae aut demersae. Romanorum duae naves
 fractae sunt, vulneratae aliquot; Rhodia una capta
 memorabili casu. Nam cum rostro percussisset
 Sidoniam navem, ancora,² ictu ipso excussa e nave
 sua, unco dente, velut ferrea manu iniecta, adligavit
 10 alterius proram; inde tumultu iniecto cum divellere
 se ab hoste cupientes inhiherent Rhodii, tractum
 ancorale et implicitum remis latus alterum deterisit;
 debilitatam ea ipsa quae icta cohaeserat navis cepit.

¹ circumventae 5: circumvectae B.² ancora ed. Frobeniana 1535: in ancora B5.

¹ Appian (*Syr.* 27) gives somewhat different figures: the Roman fleet consisted of 83 ships, of which 25 were Rhodian. The enemy lost only 29 ships (in XL. lii. 6 Livy still insists on 42). Even if we accept the account of Appian the Roman losses were exceedingly small.

and while turning they exposed themselves broadside B.C. 190
 to blows, and if one did clash it was covered by flames
 pouring upon it, and they were more afraid of the fire
 than of the battle. Nevertheless, as usual, the valour
 of the soldiers had the greatest effect in the battle.
 For when the Romans had broken the centre of the
 hostile line, they swung around and took in the rear
 the royal ships which were engaged with the
 Rhodians; and in an instant of time both in the centre
 and on the left flank the ships of Antiochus were sur-
 rounded and sunk. The uninjured right wing was
 terrified more by the destruction of their comrades
 than by their own peril; but after they saw the
 others surrounded and the flagship of Polyxenidas
 abandoning the allies and setting sail, they quickly
 raised their top-sails—and the wind was favourable
 for ships bound for Ephesus—and took to flight, with
 a loss of forty-two ships in this fight, of which
 thirteen were captured and fell into the hands of the
 enemy and the rest were burned or sunk. Two
 Roman ships were damaged severely, several some-
 what injured¹; one Rhodian ship was captured by
 a curious accident. When it had struck a Sidonian
 vessel with its beak, its anchor,² dislodged from its
 own ship by the very shock, caught the prow of the
 other ship with its fluke, falling like an iron hand;
 then, in the ensuing excitement, since the Rhodians
 backed water trying to disengage themselves from the
 enemy, the anchor-cable, fouling the blades, swept
 one side clean of oars; the crippled ship was then
 captured by the very vessel which it had struck and

² The anchor was hung suspended abaft of the prow; it might easily then have fallen as Livy says and served as a grappling-iron.

A.U.C.
564

Hoc maxime modo ad Myonnesum navali proelio pugnatum est.

- XXXI. Quo territus Antiochus, quia possessione maris pulsus longinqua tueri diffidebat se posse, praesidium ab Lysimachia, ne opprimeretur ibi ab Romanis, deduci pravo¹ ut res ipsa postea docuit,
 2 consilio iussit. Non enim tueri solum Lysimachiam a primo impetu Romanorum facile erat, sed obsidionem etiam tota hieme tolerare et obsidentes quoque ad ultimam inopiam adducere extrahendo tempus et interim spem pacis per occasionem tempore.
 3 Nec Lysimachiam tantum hostibus tradidit post adversam navalem pugnam, sed etiam Colophonis obsidione abscessit et Sardis recepit se;
 4 atque inde in Cappadociam ad Ariarathen, qui auxilia² accerserent, et quocumque alio poterat, ad copias contrahendas, in unum iam consilium, ut acie dimicaret, intentus misit.
 5 Regillus Aemilius post victoriam navalem profectus Ephesum, directis ante portum navibus, cum confessionem ultimam concessi maris hosti expressisset, Chium, quo ante navale proelium cursum ab
 6 Samo intenderat, navigat. Ibi naves in proelio quassatas cum refecisset, L. Aemilium Scaurum cum triginta navibus Hellespontum ad exercitum traiciendum misit, Rhodios parte praedae et spoliis
 7 navalibus decoratos domum redire iubet. Rhodii

¹ pravo 5: om. B.

² auxilia 5: om. B.

¹ Lysimachia was strongly situated on the European side of the Hellespont and its abandonment removed the last obstacle in Scipio's way to Asia. Appian (*Syr.* 28) is equally severe with Antiochus and more specific.

grappled. In this manner, in the main, the sea-fight off Myonnesus was conducted. B.C. 190

XXXI. Antiochus was alarmed at this because, having lost his dominion of the sea, he doubted whether he could defend his distant possessions, and ordered his garrison withdrawn from Lysimachia,¹ lest it be destroyed there by the Romans—a foolish decision, as the actual outcome showed later. For it was not only easy to defend Lysimachia from the first assault of the Romans, but even to maintain a siege for an entire winter and to reduce the besiegers even to the extremity of want by dragging out the time and meanwhile to try every chance to realize hopes of a peaceful settlement. Not only did he surrender Lysimachia to the enemy after the defeat on the sea, but he abandoned the siege of Colophon and withdrew to Sardis; and thence he sent agents to Ariarathes² in Cappadocia to ask for auxiliaries, and he devoted himself entirely, in every possible way, to collecting troops, having now but one purpose—to settle the question on the battle-field.

Aemilius Regillus after the naval victory proceeded to Ephesus, and arraying his ships in front of the harbour, when he had forced from the enemy the final admission that he had yielded control of the sea, he sailed to Chios, whither he had been bound before the naval battle. When he had repaired there the damaged ships, he sent Lucius Aemilius Scaurus with thirty ships to the Hellespont to ferry the army across, and the Rhodians, honoured with part of the booty and naval trophies,³ he ordered to return home;

¹ He was the son-in-law of Antiochus (Appian, *Syr.* 5).

² Usually captured figureheads and beaks, such as those which gave their name to the Rostra in the Roman Forum.

A.U.C.
561

impigre praevertere ad traiciendas copias consulis ;
 atque eo quoque functi officio, tum demum Rhodum
 rediere. Classis Romana ab Chio Phocaeam traiecit.
 8 In sinu maris intimo posita haec urbs est, oblonga
 forma; duum milium et quingentorum passuum¹
 spatium murus amplectitur, coit deinde ex utraque
 parte in artiolem velut cuneum; Lamptera ipsi
 9 appellant. Mille et ducentos passus ibi latitudo
 patet; inde lingua in altum mille passuum excurrans
 medium fere sinum velut nota distinguit; ubi²
 cohaeret faucibus angustis, duos in utramque
 10 regionem versos portus tutissimos habet. Qui in
 meridiem vergit, Naustathmon ab re appellant, quia
 ingentem vim navium capit; alter prope ipsum
 Lamptera est.

XXXII. Hos portus tutissimos cum occupasset
 Romana classis, priusquam aut scalis³ aut operibus
 moenia aggrediretur, mittendos censuit praetor, qui
 principum magistratuumque animos temptaret.
 Postquam obstinatos vidit, duobus simul locis oppug-
 2 nare est adortus. Altera pars infrequens aedificiis
 erat; templa deum aliquantum tenebant loci; ea
 prius ariete admoto quaterne muros turresque coepit;
 3 dein cum eo multitudo occurreret ad defendendum,
 4 altera quoque parte admotus aries; et iam utrimque
 sternebantur muri. Ad quorum casum cum impe-
 tum Romani milites per ipsam stragem ruinarum
 5 facerent, alii scalis etiam ascensum in muros temp-
 tarent, adeo obstinate resistere⁴ oppidani ut facile

¹ passuum 5: passus B.² ubi ed. Frobeniana 1535: urbs B5.³ aut scalis 5: om. B.⁴ resistere 5: resistere B.

the Rhodians in their zeal chose first to transport the consul's army; and having finished this additional task, then at length they returned to Rhodes. The Roman fleet from Chios crossed to Phocaea. This city is situated at the extremity of a bay of the sea and is oblong in shape; it is surrounded by a wall of twenty-five hundred paces in length and it grows narrower at each end like a wedge; the people themselves call it Lampter.¹ There the width is twelve hundred paces; thence a tongue, like a dividing line, runs a mile into the sea, almost through the centre of the bay; where it joins the narrow entrance-way it produces two very safe harbours facing in opposite directions. The one which faces south they call Naustathmus, because it shelters a great number of ships; the other is near Lampter itself.

XXXII. When these exceedingly safe harbours had been occupied by the Roman fleet, before he attacked the walls by either escalade or siege, the praetor thought he should send agents to test the attitude of the leading citizens and magistrates. When he found them intractable he began to attack in two places at once. One part was not thickly built up; temples of the gods occupied much space; here first he moved a battering-ram and began to shake the walls and towers; then, when the multitude rushed to its defence, a ram was moved up on the other side also; and now the walls were being overthrown on both sides. As they fell in, when the Roman soldiers were making their assault right over the heaps of ruins and still others were trying to climb the walls with ladders, the townspeople resisted so stubbornly that it was easily

¹ Literally, the lighthouse.

A.U.C.
564

appareret plus in armis et virtute quam in moenibus
 6 auxilii esse. Coactus ergo periculo militum praetor
 receptui cani iussit, ne obiceret incautos furentibus
 7 desperatione ac rabie. Dirempto proelio, ne tum
 quidem ad quietem versi, sed undique omnes ad
 munienda et obmolienda quae ruinis strata erant
 8 concurrerunt. Huic operi intentis supervenit Q.
 Antonius a praetore missus, qui castigata pertinacia
 eorum maiorem curam Romanis quam illis ostenderet
 9 esse, ne in perniciem urbis pugnaretur; si absistere
 furore vellent, potestatem iis dari eadem condicione,
 qua prius C. Livii in fidem venissent, se tradendi.
 10 Haec cum audissent, quinque dierum spatio ad
 deliberandum sumpto, temptata interim spe auxilii
 ab Antiocho, postquam legati missi ad regem nihil¹
 in eo praesidii esse retulerant, tum portas aperuerunt,
 11 pacti ne quid hostile paterentur. Cum signa in
 urbem inferrentur et pronuntiasset praetor parci se
 deditis velle, clamor undique est sublatu, indignum
 facinus esse, Phocaeenses, numquam fidos socios,
 12 semper infestos hostes, impune eludere. Ab hac
 voce velut signo a praetore dato ad diripiendam
 urbem passim discurrunt. Aemilius primo resistere
 et revocare dicendo captas, non deditas diripi urbes,
 et in iis tamen imperatoris, non militum arbitrium

¹ ad regem nihil *edd. vett.* : ab rege B : ab rege nihil ̄.

¹ Livy does not state them.

² Cf. ix. 1-5 above.

apparent that they placed more reliance on arms and B.O. 190
 courage than in walls. Compelled, therefore, by the
 danger to his soldiers, the praetor ordered the recall
 sounded, lest he expose reckless men to those who
 were raging with despair and fury. When the
 fighting stopped, not even then did they turn to
 rest, but rushed in every direction to build and repair
 what had been laid in ruins. While engaged in this
 work, Quintus Antonius, sent by the praetor,
 approached them and, reproving their obstinacy,
 pointed out that it was more to the interest of the
 Romans than themselves that the fighting should not
 continue until the city was destroyed; if they wished
 to refrain from their madness, the opportunity was
 open to them of surrendering on the same terms as
 were granted when they submitted to Gaius Livius
 before.¹ When they heard this they took a space of
 five days to deliberate, meanwhile searching for some
 hope of aid from Antiochus; but after the ambas-
 sadors sent to the king had reported that there was
 no protection in him, then they opened the gates,
 bargaining that they should not be treated as enemies.
 When the standards entered the city and the praetor
 had proclaimed that he wished to spare the sur-
 rendered, there was a shout raised on all sides that
 it was a shameful thing that the Phocaeans, never
 faithful allies,² always dangerous foes, should get off
 scot-free. With such shouts, as if they had received
 a signal from the praetor, they rushed off in every
 direction to plunder the city. Aemilius at first
 opposed and tried to recall them, saying that cap-
 tured, not surrendered, cities were plundered and
 that even so in these cases the decision rested with
 the commander, not the soldiers. After wrath and

A.U.C. 13 esse. Postquam ira et avaritia imperio potentiora
 564 erant, praeconibus per urbem missis liberos omnes
 in forum ad se convenire iubet, ne violarentur;
 et in omnibus quae ipsius potestatis fuerunt fides
 14 constitit praetoris: urbem agrosque et suas leges iis
 restituit; et, quia hiems iam appetebat, Phocaeae
 portus ad hibernandum classi delegit.

XXXIII. Per idem fere tempus consuli, trans-
 gressu Aeniorum Maronitarumque fines, nuntiatur
 victam regiam classem ad Myonnesum relictamque a
 2 praesidio Lysimachiam esse. Id multo quam de navali
 victoria laetius fuit, utique postquam eo venerunt,
 refertaque urbs omnium rerum commeatibus velut
 in adventum exercitus praeparatis eos excepit,¹ ubi
 inopiam ultimam laboremque in obsidenda urbe
 3 proposuerant sibi. Paucos dies stativa habuere,
 impedimenta aegrique ut consequerentur, qui passim
 per omnia Thraciae castella, fessi morbis ac longi-
 4 tudine viae, relictis erant. Receptis omnibus ingressi
 rursus iter per Chersonesum Hellespontum per-
 veniunt. Ubi omnibus cura regis Eumenis ad
 traiciendum praeparatis velut in pacata littora nullo
 prohibente, aliis alio² delatis navibus, sine tumultu
 5 traicere. Ea vero res Romanis auxit animos,
 concessum sibi transitum cernentibus³ in Asiam,

¹ excepit ̄: excit B.

² aliis alio *ed. Mediolaniensis* 1505: alii alio B: alio *aut*
 ab alio ̄.

³ transitum cernentibus *edd. vet.*: transire cernentibus
 tum B̄.

¹ This resumes the narrative of Scipio's march through
 Thrace. Part of the condensed account in vii. 16 above is
 thus repeated.

greed proved stronger than authority, he sent heralds B.C. 190
 through the city ordering all freemen to assemble in
 the forum in his presence, if they would escape harm;
 and in everything which was under his control the
 word of the praetor held good; the city, the farm-
 lands and their laws were restored to them; and,
 since winter was approaching, he chose the harbours
 of Phocaea as the winter station for the fleet.

XXXIII. About the same time the consul,¹ having
 crossed the territories of the Aenians and Maronians,
 received the news of the defeat of the royal fleet off
 Myonnesus and the abandonment of Lysimachia by
 its garrison. This gave him much greater joy than
 the naval victory, especially after they arrived there,
 and the city, filled with supplies of all kinds stored
 up as if for the arrival of the army, received them,
 where they had pictured to themselves the prospect
 of extreme want and hardship in besieging the city.
 For a few days they remained there, in order that
 the baggage might catch up, and the sick who,
 throughout all the forts of Thrace, exhausted by illness
 and the length of the march had been left behind.
 When all had rejoined they again took up the march
 through Chersonesus and came to the Hellespont.
 There all preparation for crossing had been made
 through the energy of King Eumenis,² and they
 crossed to shores in, as it were, a state of peace,
 with no one opposing them, without confusion,
 different ships seeking different ports. This circum-
 stance increased the ardour of the Romans, seeing
 that the crossing into Asia had been conceded to
 them, which they had believed would be the occasion

² Livy neglects to mention the services rendered by Scaurus
 and the Rhodians.

1. V. G.
564

quam rem magni certaminis futuram crediderant.
6 Stativa deinde ad Hellespontum aliquamdiu habuerunt, quia dies forte, quibus ancilia moventur, religiosi
7 ad iter inciderant. Idem dies P. Scipionem propiore etiam religione, quia salius erat,¹ diiunxerant² ab exercitu; causaque et is ipse morae erat, dum consequeretur.

XXXIV. Per eos forte dies legatus ab Antiocho in castra venerat Byzantius Heraclides, de pace
2 adferens mandata; quam impetrabilem fore magnam ei spem attulit mora et cunctatio Romanorum, quos, simul Asiam attigissent, effuso agmine ad castra regia
3 ituros crediderat. Statuit tamen non prius consulem adire quam P. Scipionem, et ita mandatum ab³ rege erat. In eo maximam spem habebat, praeterquam quod et magnitudo animi et satietas
4 gloriae placabilem eum maxime faciebat, notumque erat gentibus, qui victor ille in Hispania, qui deinde in Africa fuisset, etiam quod filius eius captus in
5 potestate regis erat. Is ubi et quando et quo casu captus sit, sicut pleraque alia, parum inter auctores constat. Alii principio belli, a Chalcide Oreum

¹ erat 5: om. B.

² diiunxerant J. F. Gronovius: deuinxerant B: disiunxerant M: deiunxerat (-ant) 5.

³ mandatum ab 5: mandatus a B.

¹ The *ancilia* were a set of twelve shields, one of which had fallen from heaven in the time of Numa. Since the safety of Rome depended upon it, Numa had eleven duplicates made, so that no one knew which was the original. Their care was entrusted to a college of priests called the *Salii*. Every March (this again indicates serious dislocation of the calendar) the shields were carried around the city (*ancilia movere*), and these days were *religiosi*, or days on which only necessary duties were performed (Festus, p. 278). It is uncertain how

of a great battle. Then for a considerable time B.C. 190 they remained stationary in camp on the Hellespont, because it happened that the days on which the *ancilia*¹ were moved were sacred and had fallen in the period of the journey. These same days had detached Publius Scipio from the army, their religious character concerning him even more because he was a Salian priest²; he too caused a delay until he overtook the army.

XXXIV. During these days, by chance, an ambassador from Antiochus had come to the camp, Heraclides of Byzantium, bringing instructions about peace; real hope that this was attainable was created in him by the delay and procrastination of the Roman army, which, he had believed, as soon as they reached Asia would make at full speed for the camp of the king. He decided to approach first not the consul but Publius Scipio, and so he had been instructed by the king. In him he placed his greatest hopes, for in addition to the fact that both the greatness of his soul and his having had his fill of glory rendered him especially approachable, it was known to all men what kind of conqueror he had been in Spain and later in Africa, his son also was a prisoner in the hands of the king. Where and when and by what chance he had been captured, like many other things, is by no means unanimously explained by the sources. Some say that at the beginning of the war, when he was travelling from Chalcis to

scrupulously an army on campaign observed them, but in this case it appears that Scipio grasped this convenient opportunity for their observance; see the following note.

² Africanus apparently took his duties seriously even during a war.

A.U.C.
564

petentem, circumventum ab regiis navibus tradunt;
 6 alii, postquam transitum in Asiam est, cum turma
 Fregellana missum exploratum ad regia castra, effuso
 obviam equitatu cum reciperet sese, in eo tumultu
 delapsus ex equo ¹ cum duobus equitibus oppressum,
 7 ita ad regem deductum esse. Illud satis ² constat,
 si pax cum populo Romano ³ maneret hospitiumque
 privatim regi cum ⁴ Scipionibus esset, neque liberalius
 neque benignius haberi colique adolescentem quam
 8 cultus est potuisse. Ob haec cum adventum P.
 Scipionis legatus expectasset, ubi is venit, consulem
 adit petitque ut mandata audiret.

XXXV. Advocato frequenti consilio legati verba
 2 sunt audita. Is, multis ante legationibus ultro
 citroque nequiquam de pace missis, eam ipsam
 fiduciam impetrandi sibi esse dixit, quod priores
 legati nihil impetrassent: Zmyrnam enim et Lamp-
 sacum et Alexandriam Troadem et Lysimachiam in
 3 Europa iactatas in illis disceputationibus esse; quarum
 Lysimachia iam cessisse regem, ne quid habere eum
 in Europa dicerent; eas quae in Asia sint civitates
 tradere paratum esse, et si quas alias Romani, quod
 suarum partium fuerint, vindicare ab imperio regio
 4 velint; impensae quoque in bellum factae partem
 dimidiam regem praestaturum populo Romano.

¹ in eo tumultu delapsus ex equo *Kreyszig*: delapsus
 equo *B*: in eo delapsus tumultu ex equo *M*: in eo tumultu *Γ*.

² illud satis *Γ*: *om. B*.

³ populo romano *Γ*: praetore *B*.

⁴ regi cum *Γ*: regium *B*.

¹ The first three cities here mentioned have frequently been
 spoken of by Livy: cf. *e.g.* XXXV. xlii. 2; Lysimachia has
 not figured in the debates and Polybius (XXI. xiii) omits it
 from his account of this incident.

Oreus, he was surrounded by the king's ships, others B.C. 190
 that after they had crossed to Asia he had been sent
 with a troop from Fregellae to reconnoitre in the
 direction of the king's camp, and that when the
 cavalry rushed out to meet them and he had retreated,
 in the confusion he had fallen from his horse and had
 been captured with two troopers and so conducted
 to the king. What is well established is that if peace
 had continued with the Roman people and if personal
 relations of mutual hospitality had existed between
 the king and the Scipios, the young man could not
 have been treated and entertained with greater
 kindness and generosity than he had received.
 For these reasons, when the ambassador had waited
 for the arrival of Publius Scipio, at his coming he
 called upon the consul and begged him to hear his
 instructions.

XXXV. A full council was called and the speech
 of the envoy was heard. He said that, after many
 earlier embassies about peace had been sent back-
 wards and forwards in vain, his own very confidence
 was due to the fact that the previous ambassadors had
 succeeded in nothing: for Zmyrna and Lampsacus
 and Alexandria Troas and Lysimachia ¹ in Europe
 had been objects of contention in those discussions;
 of these, the king had already withdrawn from
 Lysimachia, that they might not say that he had
 possessions in Europe; the cities in Asia he was
 ready to surrender, and any other cities which the
 Romans, because they belonged to their party,
 wished to separate from the king's realm; of the
 money too which had been spent on the war, the
 king would guarantee to the Roman people the
 payment of one-half. These were the terms of

A.U.C.
564

5 Hae condiciones erant pacis; reliqua oratio fuit ut memores rerum humanarum et suae fortunae moderarentur et alienam ne urgerent. Finirent Europa imperium, id quoque immensum esse; 6 et parari singula acquirendo facilius potuisse quam 7 universa teneri posse; quod si Asiae quoque partem aliquam abstrahere velint, dummodo non dubiis regionibus finiant, vinci suam temperantiam Romana cupiditate pacis et concordiae causa regem passurum. Ea, quae legato magna ad pacem impetrandam 8 videbantur, parva Romanis visa: nam et impensam quae in bellum facta esset, omnem praestare regem 9 aequum censebant, cuius culpa bellum excitatum esset, et non Ionia modo atque Aeolide deduci debere 10 regia praesidia, sed ¹ sicut Graecia omnis liberata esset, ita quae in Asia sint omnes liberari urbes; id aliter fieri non posse, quam ut cis Taurum montem possessione Asiae Antiochus cedat.

XXXVI. Legatus postquam ² nihil aequi in consilio impetrare se censebat, privatim—sic enim imperatum erat—P. Scipionis temptare animum est 2 conatus. Omnium primum filium ei sine pretio redditurum regem dixit; deinde ignarus et animi Scipionis et moris Romani, auri pondus ingens pollicitus, et nomine tantum regio ³ excepto societatem omnis regni, si per eum pacem impetrasset. 3 Ad ea Scipio: “Quod Romanos omnes, quod me ad

¹ sed ς : si *B*.² legatus postquam ς : postquam legatus *B*.³ regio ς : regio et *L*¹ Polybius omits this comparison of Asia and Greece.

peace; the rest of his speech was that mindful of B.C. 190 human destiny, they should deal temperately with their own fortune and not hardly with that of others. Let them limit their empire to Europe, that even this was very large; that it was possible to conquer and gain it part by part more easily than to hold the whole; but if they wished to take some part of Asia too, provided they limited it by easily recognizable natural features, the king would permit his own self-restraint to be overcome by Roman greed for the sake of peace and harmony. What seemed to the ambassador great incentives for concluding peace seemed unimportant to the Romans: as to the money that had been spent on the war, they deemed it only fair that the king should assume payment of it all, since it was by his fault that the war had been fomented, and that the king's garrisons should be withdrawn not only from Ionia and Aeolis, but, just as all Greece had been liberated, so all the cities which were in Asia should be set free¹; this could not be accomplished otherwise than by the retirement of Antiochus from the occupation of Asia on this side of the Taurus mountains.

XXXVI. Since the ambassador realized that he could obtain no fairness in the council, he tried privately—for such were his orders—to win over Publius Scipio. First of all, he said that the king would restore to him his son without a ransom; then, ignorant of both the spirit of Scipio and the Roman tradition, he promised him a great sum of money and, with the single exception of the title of king, partnership in the entire kingdom if, through his aid, he succeeded in obtaining peace. To this Scipio replied: “That you do not know the Romans

A.T.C.
564

quem missus es ignoras, minus miror, cum te fortunam eius a quo venis ignorare cernam. Lysimachia tenenda erat, ne Chersonesum intraremus, aut ad Hellespontum obsistendum, ne in Asiam traiceremus, si pacem tamquam ab sollicitis de belli eventu petaturi eratis; concesso vero in Asiam transitu et non solum frenis, sed etiam iugo accepto quae disceptatio ex aequo, cum imperium patiendum sit, relictæ est? Ego ex munificentia regia maximum donum filium habebō; aliis, deos precor, ne umquam fortuna egeat mea; animus certe non egebit. Pro tanto in me munere gratum me in se esse sentiet, si privatam gratiam pro privato beneficio desiderabit; publice,¹ nec habebō² quicquam ab illo nec dabo. Quod in praesentia dare possim, fidele consilium est. Abi, nuntia³ meis verbis, bello absistat, pacis condicionem nullam recuset." Nihil ea moverunt regem, tutam fore belli aleam ratum, quando perinde ac victo iam⁴ sibi leges dicerentur. Omissa igitur in praesentia mentione pacis totam curam in belli apparatus intendit.

XXXVII. Consul omnibus praeparatis ad proposita exsequenda cum ex stativis movisset, Dardanum

¹ desiderabit; publice *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: desiderabit publici *B*: desiderabit sed publice *M*: desiderat sed publice (publici) *ς*.

² habebō *ς*: habeo *B*.

³ est. abi nuntia *ς*: om., *spat. rel. B*.

⁴ victo iam *ς*: victoriam *B*.

¹ Livy has been at some pains to portray in this speech the incorruptible Roman, who will, while he accepts, allow not even the greatest private obligation to influence his public conduct. The rest of this narrative, save for this interpretation, is found in Polybius (XXI. xv).

² Antiochus had now nothing to lose by fighting, since the

as a race, that you do not know me, to whom you have been sent, I am less surprised to find since I see that you do not know the situation of the man from whom you come. Lysimachia should have been held, to prevent our entering the Chersonesus, or resistance should have been offered at the Hellespont, to prevent our crossing into Asia, if you intended to ask peace from foes who were anxious about the outcome of the war; but when we were given passage into Asia and when not only our reins but also our yoke was accepted, what debate is left on the basis of equity, when you are obliged to put up with our sovereignty? Of the generous offers of the king, I accept the greatest, my son; as to the rest, I pray the gods that my estate will never need them; my soul, at any rate, will not need them. In return for so great a gift to me, he will find me grateful to him if he desires private gratitude in return for a private kindness; in my public capacity I shall take nothing from him and give him nothing. What I can give him at this moment is my sincere advice. Go, advise him in my words that he abandon the war and refuse no terms of peace."¹ His words had no effect upon the king, who thought that the gamble of war would be a safe one, since even now terms were declared to him as if he already had been defeated. Mention of peace was forgotten for the moment, and all his energy was devoted to preparation for war.²

XXXVII. When everything was ready for the execution of his designs and when he had moved from his base, the consul first advanced to Dardanus

terms of peace were already as severe as they were ever likely to be.

A.U.C.
564

primum, deinde Rhoeteum utraque civitate obviam
 2 effusa¹ venit. Inde Ilium processit, castrisque in
 campo qui est subiectus² moenibus positus in urbem
 3 arcemque cum escendisset, sacrificavit Minervae
 praesidi arcis et Iliensibus in omni rerum verborum-
 que honore ab se oriundos Romanos praeferentibus
 et Romanis laetis origine sua. Inde profecti³
 4 sextis castris ad caput Caici amnis pervenerunt. Eo
 et⁴ Eumenes rex, primo conatus ab Hellesponto
 reducere classem in hiberna Elaeam, adversis deinde
 ventis cum aliquot⁵ diebus superare Lecton promun-
 turium non potuisset, in terram egressus, ne deesset
 principiis rerum, qua proximum fuit, in castra
 5 Romana cum⁶ parva manu contendit. Ex castris
 Pergamum remissus ad commeatus expediendos,
 tradito frumento quibus iusserat consul, in eadem
 stativa rediit. Inde plurium dierum praeparatis
 cibariis consilium erat ire ad hostem priusquam
 hiems opprimeret.
 6 Regia castra circa Thyatiram erant. Ubi cum
 audisset Antiochus P. Scipionem aegrum Elaeam
 delatum, legatos qui filium ad eum reducerent misit.

¹ utraque ciuitate obuam effusa ς : utramque ciuitatem obuam effusam *B*.

² subiectus ς : obiectus *B*.

³ profecti ς : profectis *B*: profectus *B* (*ex corr.*).

⁴ eo et *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: eo et omnes *B* ς .

⁵ aliquot *ed. Aldina*: aliquot deinde *B* ς .

⁶ cum ς : *om. B*.

¹ The tradition of the Roman descent from the Trojans was already familiar in the second century B.C.: cf. XXIX. xii. 14.

² The maladjustment of the Roman calendar makes the chronology of the campaign difficult, and efforts to find a solution must be regarded as unsuccessful. It suffices here

and then to Rhoeteum, and both peoples thronged B.C. 190
 to meet him. Then he went on to Ilium, and encamp-
 ing on the level ground which lies below the walls,
 he went up to the city and the citadel and offered
 sacrifice to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel; the
 people of Ilium, on their part, with every mark of
 honour in deed or word proclaiming the Romans as de-
 scendants, and the Romans rejoicing in their descent.¹
 Departing thence, on the sixth day of marching they
 came to the mouth of the Caicus river. Thither too
 came King Eumenes, having first tried to conduct
 his fleet back from the Hellespont to Elaea to winter,
 but then when on account of opposing winds he could
 not for several days round the promontory of Lecton,
 he disembarked at the nearest point, so as not to miss
 the preliminaries of the campaign, and hastened to the
 Roman camp with a small force. From his camp he
 was sent back to Pergamum to obtain supplies, and
 when he had delivered the grain to the consul as he was
 directed, he returned to the same station. From
 there the plan was, after previously preparing several
 days' rations, to march against the enemy before
 winter should prevent.²

The king's camp was near Thyatira. When
 Antiochus learned there that Publius Scipio was sick
 and had been taken to Elaea, he sent ambassadors to
 return his son to him. The gift was not only grateful

to assemble the evidence of Livy: (1) the eclipse of March 14, dated by Livy July 11 (iv. 4 and the note); (2) the preparations for wintering made by Aemilius (xxxii. 14) and by Eumenes (sect. 4 above); (3) the prospective approach of winter (xxxix. 2); (4) the observance, probably belated, of the festival of the *ancilia* (xxxiii. 6). Beloch (p. 387, quoting Diest through Kromayer) says that the rainy season in this region begins in November.

A.U.C.
664

7 Non animo solum patrio gratum munus, sed corpori
8 quoque salubre gaudium fuit; satiatusque tandem
complexu filii "renuntiate" inquit "gratias regi me
agere, referre aliam gratiam nunc non posse quam
ut suadeam, ne ante in aciem descendat quam in
9 castra me redisse audierit." Quamquam sexaginta
milia peditum, plus duodecim milia equitum animos
interdum ad spem certaminis faciebant, motus
tamen Antiochus tanti auctoritate viri, in quo ad
incertos belli eventus omnis fortunae posuerat
subsidia, recepit se¹ et transgressus Phrygium
amnem circa² Magnesiam quae ad Sipylum est
10 posuit castra; et ne, si³ extrahere tempus vellet,
munimenta Romani temptarent, fossam sex cubita
11 altam, duodecim latam cum duxisset, extra duplex
vallum fossae circumdedit, interiore labro murum
cum turribus crebris obiecit, unde facile arceri
transitu fossae hostis posset.

XXXVIII. Consul circa Thyatiram esse regem
ratus, continuis itineribus quinto die ad Hyrcanum
2 campum descendit. Inde cum profectum audisset,
secutus vestigia citra⁴ Phrygium amnem, quattuor
3 milia ab hoste posuit castra. Eo mille ferme equites
—maxima pars Gallograeci erant, et Dahae quidam
aliarumque gentium sagittarii equites intermixti—
tumultuose a. ni trajecto in stationes impetum
4 fecerunt. Primum turbaverunt incompositos; dein,

¹ recepit se ζ : . . . t B.

² circa ζ : circaque . . .

³ ne si *ed. Frobenia*. 1535: ne B: nisi M: ne dum ζ .

⁴ citra ζ : circa B.

¹ Livy's description is vague and the fortifications unusual
in design if I have interpreted correctly. I understand
fossae with *labro*.

to a father's heart, but the joy was healing also to his body; and at length sated with embracing his son, he said, "Take the message to the king that I tender my thanks to him, but at present I can show my gratitude in no other way than to counsel him not to come forth in line of battle until he hears that I have returned to camp." Although sixty thousand infantry and more than twelve thousand cavalry sometimes inspired his mind with hope as to the battle, yet Antiochus, moved by the authority of so great a man (in whom, having regard to the uncertain issues of war, he had placed his every hope of assistance), retired, crossed the river Phrygius and established his camp in the vicinity of Magnesias, which is near Sipylus; and, inasmuch as he wished to delay matters, that the Romans might not attempt his fortifications, when he had constructed a ditch six cubits deep and twelve cubits wide, on the outside he threw a double wall around the trench, on the inner lip of which he raised a wall with numerous towers, whence the enemy could easily be prevented from crossing the ditch.¹

XXXVIII. The consul, thinking that the king was near Thyatira, marching continuously, came down on the fifth day into the Hyrcanian plain. When he found that the king had gone, following his trail along the river Phrygius, he encamped four miles from the enemy. There about a thousand cavalry—they were mostly Galatians with some Dahae and mounted archers² of other tribes mixed with them—crossing the river in a confused mass, made an attack on the outguards. At first this threw them into confusion, since they were not in formation;

² Cf. XXXV. xlviii. 3-5.

A.U.C.
564

cum longius certamen fieret et¹ Romanorum ex propinquis castris facili² subsidio cresceret numerus, regii fessi iam et plures non sustinentes recipere se conati circa ripam amnis, priusquam flumen ingrederentur, ab instantibus tergo aliquot interfecti⁵ sunt. Biduum³ deinde silentium fuit neutris transgredientibus amnem; tertio post die Romani simul omnes transgressi sunt et duo milia fere et quingentos passus ab hoste posuerunt castra. Metantibus et muniendo occupatis tria milia delecta equitum peditumque regionum magno terrore ac tumultu⁶ advenere; aliquanto pauciores in statione erant; hi tamen per se, nullo a⁴ munimento castrorum milite avvocato, et primo aequum proelium sustinuerunt, et crescente certamine pepulerunt hostes centum ex⁷ iis occisis, centum ferme captis. Per quadriduum insequens instructae utrimque acies pro vallo steterunt; quinto die Romani processere in medium campi; Antiochus nihil promovit signa, ita ut extremi minus mille pedes a vallo abessent.

XXXIX. Consul postquam detractari certamen vidit, postero die in consilium advocavit, quid sibi faciendum esset, si Antiochus pugnandi copiam non² faceret? Instare hiemem; aut sub pellibus habendos milites fore,⁵ aut, si concedere in hiberna vellet, differendum esse in aestatem bellum. Nullum

¹ et Duker: om. B.² propinquis castris facili ed. Frobeniana 1535: propinquo castris facile B.³ biduum 5: om. B.⁴ a edd. vet.: om. B.⁵ fore 5: om. B.

then, as the battle continued for a longer time and^{B.C. 190} the number of the Romans increased, it being easy to reinforce them from the adjacent camp, the king's troops were wearied and, unable to withstand the larger numbers, tried to retire along the banks of the river, and before they crossed the stream many were killed by the Romans, who pressed on from the rear. For the next two days everything was quiet, neither side crossing the river; on the third day after, the Romans all crossed the river at the same time and made camp about twenty-five hundred paces from the enemy. As they were laying out the camp and engaged in fortifying it, about three thousand picked infantry and cavalry from the king's army came up, causing great fear and confusion; the number on outpost was considerably smaller; they nevertheless by themselves, without calling away any troops from the fortifying of the camp, both at first kept the contest even and later, as the battle grew more fierce, beat off the enemy, killing a hundred of them and capturing about a hundred. For the next four days both battle-lines were drawn up and stood before the ramparts; on the fifth day the Romans advanced to the middle of the space; Antiochus did not advance his standards, but stood so that his rear troops were less than a thousand paces from the wall.

XXXIX. After the consul perceived that the enemy declined to fight, he called a council the next day, to consider what they should do if Antiochus would not give them an opportunity for a battle. Winter, he said, was at hand; either they would have to keep the troops in tents or, if it was decided to withdraw to winter quarters, the war would have to be postponed to the summer. No enemy was

umquam hostem Romani aequae contempserunt. Conclamatum undique est duceret extemplo et
 4 uteretur ardore militum qui tamquam non pugnan-
 dum cum tot milibus hostium, sed par numerus
 pecorum trucidandus esset, per fossas, per vallum
 castra invadere parati erant, si in proelium hostis
 5 non exiret. Cn. Domitius ad explorandum iter, et
 qua parte adiri hostium vallum posset, missus, post-
 quam omnia certa rettulit, postero die propius
 admoventi castra placuit; tertio signa in medium
 6 campi prolata et instrui acies coepta est. Nec
 Antiochus ultra tergiversandum ratus, ne et suorum
 animos minueret detractando certamen et hostium
 spem auget, et ipse copias eduxit, tantum progressus
 a castris ut dimicaturum appareret.
 7 Romana acies unius prope formae fuit et hominum
 et armorum genere. Duae legiones Romanae, duae
 socium ac Latini nominis erant; quina milia et quad-
 8 ringenos¹ singulae habebant. Romani mediam
 aciem, cornua Latini tenuerunt; hastatorum prima
 signa dein principum erant, triarii postremos claud-
 9 bant. Extra hanc velut iustam aciem a parte

¹ quadringenos *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: quadrigenos *B*5.

¹ The Latin organizations were usually called *alae* (XXXI. xxi. 7 and the note), and this word may have dropped out here. It is equally possible that Polybius did not distinguish them in this case.

² The usual strength was 5,000 (XXVI. xxviii. 7) or 5,200 men (XL. xxxi. 2), but was sometimes as high as 6,200 (XXIX. xxiv. 14).

³ This is the typical battle formation of the legion, the three lines corresponding roughly to the modern front-line, support and reserve. Each unit of *hastati*, who formed also the skirmish-line, occupied enough frontage to permit the

ever held in such contempt by the Romans. The B.C. 190
 cry from all sides was that he should immediately lead
 them out and take advantage of the enthusiasm of
 the soldiers, who, as if their task was, not to fight
 with so many thousands of the enemy, but to slaughter
 the same number of cattle, were ready to attack
 the camp over ditch, over wall, if the enemy would
 not come out to fight. Gnaeus Domitius was sent
 to reconnoitre the route of approach and where
 they could come up to the enemy's rampart, and
 when he brought back complete and definite informa-
 tion, it was decided that on the following day they
 would move the camp nearer; on the third day the
 standards were advanced to the centre of the space
 and the battle-line began to form. Nor did An-
 tiochus think that he should remain longer on the
 defensive, lest he both diminish the courage of his
 own men by declining battle and increase the hopes
 of the enemy, and he too led out his forces, advancing
 so far from the camp that it was clear that he meant
 to engage.

The Roman battle-line is generally about uniform
 in its arrangement, both as to number and as to their
 equipment. There were two Roman legions and
 two¹ of allies of the Latin confederacy; each con-
 sisted of five thousand four hundred men.² The
 Romans held the centre, the Latins the flanks; the
 advanced units were the *hastati*, then came the
principes; the *triarii* held the rear.³ Outside this,
 which may be called the regular battle-line, on the

principes to pass through them as reinforcements and replace-
 ments; the *triarii* were held out until the decisive blow was
 to be struck or a counter-attack organized.

A.U.O.
564

dextra consul Achaeorum caetratis immixtos auxili-
ares Eumenis, tria milia ferme peditum, aequata
fronte instruxit; ultra eos equitum minus tria milia
opposuit, ex quibus Eumenis octingenti, reliquus
10 omnis Romanus equitatus erat; extremos Tralles et
Cretenses—quingentorum utrique numerum exple-
11 bant—statuit. Laevum cornu non egere videbatur
obiectis¹ talibus auxiliis, quia flumen ab ea parte
ripaeque deruptae claudebant; quattuor tamen inde
12 turmae equitum oppositae. Haec summa copiarum
erat Romanis, et duo milia mixtorum Macedonum
Thracumque, qui voluntate secuti erant; hi praesidio
13 castris relictis sunt. Sedecim elephantos post triarios
in subsidio² locaverunt; nam praeterquam quod
multitudinem regionum elephantorum—erant autem
quattuor et quinquaginta—sustinere non videbantur
posse, ne pari quidem numero Indicis Africi resistunt,
sive quia magnitudine—longe enim illi praestant—
sive robore animorum vincuntur.³

XL. Regia acies varia magis multis gentibus,
dissimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque erat. Decem
et sex milia peditum more Macedonum armati
2 fuere, qui phalangitae appellabantur. Haec media
acies fuit, in fronte in decem partes divisa; partes
eas interpositis binis elephantis distinguebat; a
fronte introrsus in⁴ duos et triginta ordines armatorum
3 acies patebat. Hoc et roboris in regiis copiis erat,

¹ non egere videbatur obiectis *M. Müller*: non uerebatur
obiectis *B*: non uidebatur egere *M*.

² in subsidio *5*: *om. B*.

³ uincuntur *5*: uincuntur *B*.

⁴ in *5*: inter *BM*.

right flank and in line with the legions, the consul B.C. 190
placed the auxiliaries of Eumenes mixed with the
Achaean "targeteers," being about three thousand
infantry; outside them he stationed less than
three thousand cavalry, eight hundred of whom
belonged to Eumenes, all the rest being Roman¹
cavalry; on the extreme flank he placed the Tralli
and Cretans, each contingent amounting to about
five hundred men. The left flank did not seem
to need such auxiliaries placed there, since the river
and its steep banks gave protection on that side;
nevertheless, he stationed there four troops of cavalry.
This was the whole of the Roman force, with two
thousand Macedonians and Thracians who had
followed as volunteers; they were left as a guard
for the camp. They placed sixteen elephants in
reserve behind the *triarii*, for, in addition to the
fact that they seemed unable to face the greater
number of the king's elephants—there were fifty-
four of them—African elephants cannot resist even
an equal number of Indian, whether because the
latter are superior in size—for in fact they are far
larger—or in fighting spirit.

XL. The king's battle-line was more varied, made
up of many races and auxiliary forces differently
armed. There were sixteen thousand infantry
armed in the Macedonian fashion, who are called
phalangitae.² They formed the centre of the line,
and their frontage was divided into ten sections;
these sections were separated by intervals in which
two elephants each were placed; from the front the
formation extended thirty-two ranks in depth.
This was the main strength of the king's army, and

¹ This seems to include the Latin cavalry.

² Cf. XXXVI. xviii. 2.

A.U.C.
664

et perinde cum alia specie tum eminentibus tantum¹
inter armatos elephantis magnum terrorem praebe-
bat. Ingentes ipsi erant; addebant speciem fronta-
lia et cristae et tergo impositae turres turribusque
superstantes praeter rectorem quaterni armati.
5 Ad latus dextrum phalangitarum mille et quingentos
Gallograecorum pedites opposuit. His tria milia
equitum² loricatum—cataphractus ipsi appellant—
adiunxit. Addita his ala mille ferme equitum;
6 agema eam³ vocabant; Medi erant, lecti viri, et
eiusdem regionis mixti multarum gentium equites.
Continens his grex sedecim elephantorum est op-
7 positus in subsidiis. Ab eadem parte, paulum
producto cornu, regia cohors erat⁴; argyraspides a
8 genere armorum appellabantur; Dahae deinde,
equites sagittarii,⁵ mille et ducenti; tum levis
armatura, trium milium, pari ferme numero, pars
Cretenses, pars Tralles; duo milia et quingenti Mysi
9 sagittarii his adiuncti erant. Extremum cornu
clauderant quattuor milia, mixti⁶ Cyrtii funditores
10 et Elymaei sagittarii. Ab laevo cornu phalangitis
adiuncti erant Gallograeci pedites mille et quingenti
et⁷ similiter his armati duo milia Cappadocum—
11 ab Ariarathe missi erant regi⁸; inde auxiliares
mixti omnium generum, duo milia septingenti, et
tria milia cataphractorum equitum et mille alii equites,

¹ tantum ς : om. B.² equitum *Sigonius*: peditum B ς .³ agema eam *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: haegemean B: ageam
eam M: haec gemeam ς .⁴ erat ς : om. B.⁵ sagittarii *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: sagittariorum B ς .⁶ mixti ς : misti M: om. B.⁷ et *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: om. B ς .⁸ regi ς : regii B.

it caused great terror, not only from its general appearance, but by reason of the elephants, standing out especially conspicuously among the soldiers. They were of great size; head-armour and crests and towers placed upon their backs, and, in addition to the driver, four soldiers riding in each tower, added to their impressiveness. On the right of the *phalangitae* he stationed fifteen hundred Galatian infantry. To these he added three thousand armoured cavalry—they call them *cataphracti*.¹ In addition to these there was a squadron of about a thousand cavalry; they called it the *agema*;² they were Medes, picked men, and cavalry from many races in the same region mingled with them. Adjoining them a herd of sixteen elephants was posted in reserve. On this side, the flank being advanced a little, was the royal bodyguard; they were called *argyraspides*³ from the character of their equipment; then the Dahae, mounted archers, to the number of twelve hundred; then the light infantry, three thousand in number, about equally divided between Cretans and Tralli; to them two thousand five hundred Mysian archers were added. The extremity of this flank consisted of four thousand mixed Cyrtians, slingers, and Elymaeans, archers. On the left flank, next the *phalangitae*, were posted fifteen hundred Galatian infantry and two thousand Cappadocians similarly armed—they had been sent to the king by Ariarathes; then twenty-seven hundred auxiliaries mixed from all races, and three thousand armoured cavalry and one thousand other cavalry,

¹ Cf. XXXV. xlviii. 3.² In XLII. lviii. 9 (cf. note), the *agema* seems to be distinguished from the *equitum sacra*, *alia*, lii. 4.³ They carried silver shields.

A.U.C.
564

- regia ala levioribus tegumentis suis equorumque, alio haud dissimili habitu; Syri plerique erant
 12 Phrygibus et Lydis immixti. Ante hunc equitatum falcatae quadrigae et cameli quos appellant dromadas. His insidebant Arabes sagittarii, gladios tenues habentes longos quaterna cubita, ut ex tanta altitudine contingere hostem possent. Inde alia multitudo, par ei, quae in dextro cornu erat¹: primi Tarentini, deinde Gallograecorum equitum duo milia et quingenti, inde Neocretes mille et eodem armatu Cares et Cilices mille et quingenti et totidem
 14 Tralles et quattuor milia caetratorum: Pisidae erant et Pamphylii et Lycii; tum Cyrtiorum et Elymaeorum paria in dextro cornu locatis auxilia, et sedecim elephantum modico intervallo distantes.

XLI. Rex ipse in dextro cornu erat²; Seleucum filium et Antipatrum fratris filium in laevo praeposuit³; media acies tribus permissa, Minnioni et Zeuxidi et Philippo, magistro elephantorum.

- 2 Nebula matutina, crescente die levata in nubes, caliginem dedit; umor inde ab austro velut pluvia⁴
 3 perfudit omnia; quae nihil admodum Romanis, eadem perincommoda regiis erant; nam et obscuritas lucis in acie modica Romanis non adimebat

¹ erat 5: erant B.

² cornu erat 5: om. B.

³ praeposuit 5: proposuit B.

⁴ pluvia H. J. Müller, sed non omnino placet: om. B5.

¹ Livy has not accounted for the 60,000 infantry and more than 12,000 cavalry of xxxvii. 9 above (about 43,700 infantry and 12,000 cavalry). But Antiochus held out a strong guard for the camp, and Livy does not give the strength of all the contingents. Appian (*Syr.* 32) differs from Livy in several respects.

the royal squadron, with lighter armour for themselves and their horses, but otherwise with equipment not unlike the rest; they were mostly Syrians mingled with Phrygians and Lydians. In front of this cavalry were scythe-bearing chariots and camels of the breed called dromedaries. These were ridden by Arab archers carrying slender swords four cubits long, that they might be able to reach the enemy from so great a height. Then came another great crowd, corresponding to that on the right flank: first the Tarentini, then twenty-five hundred Galatian cavalry, next a thousand Neocretans and fifteen hundred Carians and Cilicians similarly equipped, and the same number of Tralli and four thousand "targeteers": these were Pisidians and Pamphylians and Lycians; then auxiliaries of the Cyrtians and Elymaeans equal to those stationed on the right flank, and sixteen elephants a short distance away.¹

XLI. The king himself was on the right flank; he placed his son Seleucus and Antipater the son of his brother on the left; the centre of the line was entrusted to three commanders, Minnio and Zeuxis and Philippus, the master of the elephants.²

A morning mist, lightening into clouds as the day advanced, caused a fog; the moisture from this, like a rain brought on by the west wind, covered everything; these conditions brought absolutely no discomfort to the Romans, but at the same time they were very inconvenient for the king's army; for the faintness of the light, in a line of moderate frontage,

² There is no mention of Hannibal, but in XXXVIII. lviii. 10 Nasica speaks as if he had been present. It would be ironical if the battle which was to test the prowess of the two great generals were fought when both were absent.

A.U.C.
664

in omnes partes conspectum, et umor toto fere gravi
 4 armatu nihil gladios aut pila hebetabat; regii tam
 lata acie ne ex medio quidem cornua sua conspicere¹
 poterant, nedum extremi inter se conspicerentur,
 et umor arcus fundasque et iaculorum amenta
 5 emollierat. Falcatae quoque quadrigae, quibus se
 perturbaturum hostium aciem Antiochus crediderat,
 6 in suos terrorem verterunt. Armatae autem in
 hunc maxime modum erant: cuspides circa temonem
 ab iugo decem cubita exstantes velut cornua habebant,
 7 quibus, quidquid obvium daretur transfigerent, et in
 extremis iugis binae circa eminebant falces, altera²
 aequata iugo, altera inferior in terram devexa, illa
 ut quidquid ab latere obiceretur abscideret, haec ut
 prolapsos subeuntesque contingeret; item ab axibus
 rotarum utrimque binae eodem modo diversae
 8 deligabantur falces. Sic armatas quadrigas, quia,
 si³ in extremo aut in medio locatae forent, per
 suos agendaerant, in prima acie, ut ante dictum est,
 9 locaverat rex. Quod ubi Eumenes vidit, haud
 ignarus quam anceps esset pugnae⁴ et auxilii genus,⁵
 si quis pavorem magis equis iniceret, quam iusta
 adoriretur pugna, Cretenses sagittarios funditoresque
 et iaculatores cum aliquot turmis⁶ equitum non

¹ conspicere ς : circumspicere *B*.² altera ς : *om. B*.³ quia si *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: quasi *B ς* .⁴ q.a.e.p. *Fügn*: p.q.a.e. *B*.⁵ genus ς : *gens B*.⁶ cum aliquot turmis *Crévier*: *om. B ς* .¹ These thongs were wrapped around the shafts of javelins to impart to them a rotary motion, thereby giving longer range and more accurate aim.² The lack of intelligibility of this account is the best indication that Livy had never seen such a chariot. Other

did not deprive the Romans of a view in all directions, *B.O.* 190
 and the moisture, in a force almost entirely composed of heavy infantry, did not at all dull the swords and spears; the king's troops, with their line so widely extended, could not see the flanks even from the centre, much less one flank from the other, and the moisture had softened the bowstrings and slings and the thongs¹ of the javelins. The scythe-bearing chariots also, by which Antiochus had expected to cause panic in the hostile line, turned their terror upon their own men. They were in general equipped in the following fashion: they had points along the pole, projecting like horns ten cubits from the yoke, with which to pierce whatever they encountered, and on the ends of the yokes there were two scythes standing out in two directions, one in line with the yoke, the other pointed downward towards the ground, the former to cut up whatever was near it on the sides, the latter to wound men who had fallen and came under the chariot; also from the hubs of the wheels on both sides two other scythes, pointing in different directions, were similarly fastened.² The chariots so equipped, because, if they were stationed on the flanks or in the centre, they would of necessity have been driven through their own ranks, had been posted by the king, as has been said, in the front rank. When Eumenes saw this, being not unaware how uncertain was this sort of fighting and this kind of auxiliary, if one could frighten the horses rather than meet them in regular battle, he ordered the Cretan archers with the slingers and dart-throwers, with some

descriptions differ in various particulars: cf. Xenophon *Anab.* I. viii. 10; Curtius IV. ix. 5; Vegetius III. xxiv. etc.

A.U.C.
684

confertos, sed quam maxime possent dispersos excurrere iubet et ex omnibus simul partibus tela ingerere. Haec velut procella partim vulneribus missilium undique conectorum partim clamoribus dissonis ita consternavit equos ut repente velut effrenati passim incerto cursu ferrentur; quorum impetus et levis armatura et expediti funditores et velox Cretensis momento declinabant; et eques insequendo tumultum ac pavorem equis camelisque, et ipsis simul consternatis, augebat clamore et ab alia circumstantium turba multiplici adiecto. Ita medio inter duas acies campo exiguntur quadrigae; amotoque inani ludibrio, tum demum ad iustum proelium signo utrimque dato concursus est.

XLII. Ceterum vana illa res verae mox cladis causa fuit. Auxilia enim subsidiaria, quae proxima locata erant, pavore et consternatione quadrigarum territa et ipsa in fugam versa nudarunt omnia usque ad cataphractos equites. Ad quos cum dissipatis subsidiis pervenisset equitatus Romanus, ne primum quidem impetum sustinuerunt; pars eorum¹ fusi sunt, alii propter gravitatem tegumentorum armorum-que oppressi sunt.² Totum deinde laevum cornu inclinavit, et turbatis auxiliaribus, qui³ inter equitem et⁴ quos appellant phalangitas erant, usque ad mediam aciem terror⁵ pervenit. Ibi simul per-

¹ i.s.p.e. *Madvig*: i.p.e.s. *B*γ.

² oppressi sunt γ: pressi sunt *B*.

³ qui γ: quia *B*. ⁴ et *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: om. *B*.

⁵ aciem terror γ: om. *B*.

¹ The "bystanders" here are the infantry which was not yet engaged but which took this vocal part in this phase of the battle. Thucydides (VII. lxx.-lxxi.) had described the shouting of soldiers and civilians on shore during the naval battle

troops of cavalry, not in mass-formation but as widely separated as possible, to rush out and shower weapons upon them from all sides at once. This storm, as it were, partly by the wounds dealt by weapons hurled from all directions, partly by the discordant shouts, so frightened the horses that, as if they were set free from the reins, they rushed in every direction, not knowing where they were going; their charges were easily avoided by the light infantry and the lightly-equipped slingers and the swift-footed Cretans; and the cavalry pursuing increased the confusion and fright of the horses and camels, these too being overcome with terror, while added to it all were the manifold cries of the throng of bystanders.¹ So the chariots were driven away from the space between the two lines and, this idle show being ended, then at length the signal was given on both sides and the clash of regular battle began.

XLII. That trivial thing, however, was presently the cause of real calamity. For the supporting auxiliaries which had been stationed next them, dismayed by the panic and fright of the chariots, also turned to flight and exposed the whole line as far as the armoured cavalry. And they, when the Roman cavalry reached them, their supports being scattered, did not sustain even the first shock; part of them fled; others were held back on account of the weight of their armour and weapons. The whole left flank then wavered, and when the auxiliaries were broken, who were between the cavalry and those who were called the *phalangitae*, the panic spread as far as the centre. There, as soon as the ranks were thrown

at Syracuse, and the inclusion of such details became a regular feature of the technique of historical composition.

A.U.C.
664

turbati ordines et impeditus intercurso suorum usus
 praelongarum hastarum—sarissas Macedones vocant
 —intulere signa Romanae legiones et pila in pertur-
 5 batos coniecere. Ne interpositi quidem elephantum
 militem Romanum deterrebant, adsuetum iam ab
 Africis bellis et vitare impetum beluae et ex trans-
 verso aut pilis incessere aut, si propius subire posset,
 6 gladio nervos incidere. Iam media acies fere
 omnis a fronte prostrata erat, et subsidia circumita
 ab tergo caedebantur, cum in parte alia fugam
 suorum et prope iam ad ipsa castra clamorem pavent-
 7 tium acceperere. Namque Antiochus a dextro cornu,
 cum ibi fiducia fluminis nulla subsidia cerneret
 praeterquattuor turmas equitum, et eas dum applicant
 se suis ripam nudantes, impetum in eam partem cum
 8 auxiliis et cataphracto equitatu fecit; nec a fronte
 tantum instabat, sed circumito a flumine cornu iam
 ab latere urgebat, donec fugati equites primum, dein
 proximi peditum effuso cursu ad castra compulsi
 sunt.

XLIII. Praeerat castris M. Aemilius tribunus
 militum, M. Lepidi filius, qui post paucos annos
 2 pontifex maximus factus est. Is¹ qua fugam cerne-
 bat suorum, cum praesidio omni² occurrit et stare
 primo, deinde redire in pugnam iubebat pavorem et
 3 turpem fugam increpans; minae exinde erant, in

¹ is *edd. vet.*: *om.* B⁵.² omni *edd. vet.*: *omnium* B⁵.¹ Cf. XXVII. xxxix. 8.² The expression is careless, but the context demands that this statement refer to the Romans, who were being driven back on their own left although victorious everywhere else.³ In 180 B.C. (XL. xlii. 12).

into disorder and the use of the very long spears B.C. 190
 —the Macedonians call them *sarissae*—was prevented
 by their own friends rushing among them, the
 Roman legions advanced and hurled their javelins
 into the disorganized mass. Not even the elephants
 posted in the intervals deterred the Roman soldiers,
 accustomed already by the wars in Africa both to
 avoid the charges of the beasts and either to assail
 them with spears from the side or, if they could
 approach closer, to hamstring them with their swords.¹
 By now almost the entire centre was being beaten
 back from the front and the auxiliaries flanking them
 were being cut down in the rear, while on another
 side the Romans² heard the rout of their comrades
 and the shouts of the panic-stricken now almost at
 the camp itself. For Antiochus, on his right flank,
 since he saw that there were no auxiliaries there
 except four troops of cavalry, because of the Romans'
 confidence in the river, and that these, while they were
 maintaining contact with their neighbours, were
 leaving the bank unguarded, made an attack upon
 them with the auxiliaries and the armoured cavalry;
 nor did he charge from the front alone, but encircling
 them from the river was already pressing on from
 the flank, until first the cavalry fled and then the
 infantry who were nearest were driven headlong
 towards the camp.

XLIII. The camp was under the command of
 Marcus Aemilius, tribune of the soldiers, the son of
 that Marcus Lepidus who a few years later became
 pontifex maximus.³ When he saw the flight of his
 men, he met them with his entire guard and ordered
 them first to halt and then to return to the battle,
 taunting them with fear and disgraceful flight; then

A.U.C.
564

perniciem suam caecos ruere ni dicto parerent;
 postremo dat suis signum, ut primos¹ fugientium
 caedant, turbam insequentium ferro et vulneribus
 4 in hostem redigant. Hic maior timor minorem vicit;
 ancipiti coacti metu primo constiterunt; deinde et
 ipsi rediere in pugnam, et Aemilius cum suo praesidio
 —erant autem² duo milia virorum fortium—effuse
 5 sequenti regi acriter obstitit, et Attalus, Eumenis
 frater, ab dextro cornu, quo laevum hostium primo
 impetu fugatum fuerat, ut ab³ sinistro fugam suorum
 et tumultum circa castra vidit, in tempore cum
 6 ducentis equitibus advenit. Antiochus postquam et
 eos, quorum terga modo viderat, repetentes pugnam
 et aliam et a castris et ex acie adfluentem turbam
 7 conspexit, in fugam vertit equum. Ita utroque
 cornu victores Romani per acervos corporum, quos
 in media maxime acie cumulaverant, ubi et robur
 fortissimorum virorum et arma gravitate fugam
 8 impediabant, pergunt ad castra diripienda. Equites
 primi omnium Eumenis, deinde et alius equitatus
 toto passim campo sequuntur hostem et postremos,
 9 ut quosque adepti sunt, caedunt. Ceterum fugienti-
 bus maior pestis, intermixtis quadrigis elephantisque
 et camelis, erat sua⁴ ipsorum⁵ turba, cum solutis
 ordinibus velut caeci super alios alii ruerent et

¹ primos 5: primo B.² autem 5: om. B.³ ut ab ed. Frobeniana 1535: ab B5.⁴ sua Heusinger: et sua B5.⁵ ipsorum 5: ipsius B.

he uttered threats that they were rushing blindly to
 their own deaths if they did not obey his orders;
 finally, he gave the signal to his own men to kill the
 first of the fugitives and with steel and wounds to
 drive against the enemy the mass of those that
 followed. This greater fear prevailed over the lesser;
 driven by terror in front and rear they first halted;
 then they too returned to the fight, and Aemilius
 with his own guard—they were two thousand gallant
 men—boldly withstood the onrushing king, and
 Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, from the right
 flank, where the enemy's left had been routed at the
 first attack, when he saw the flight of the troops on
 the left and the mellay around the camp, himself
 came in the nick of time with two hundred cavalry.
 When Antiochus saw the troops at whose backs he
 had just been looking returning to the fight, and
 another body coming from the camp and another
 from the battle-line, he turned his horse to flight. So
 on both wings the victorious Romans, over piles of
 corpses which they had heaped up, especially in the
 centre, where the strength of the bravest troops¹
 and the weight of their arms had delayed the flight of
 the enemy, proceeded to plunder the camp. The
 cavalry of Eumenes first of all, then the rest of the
 cavalry, pursued the enemy over the whole plain,
 killing the hindmost as they overtook them. But a
 greater peril to the fugitives, the chariots and
 elephants and camels being mingled with them, was
 the disordered mob of their own men, since their
 ranks once broken, as if blind they rushed one over

¹ Appian several times mentions the gallant stand of the *phalangitae*; when the time for flight came their weapons impeded them.

A.U.C. 664 10 incursu¹ beluarum obtererentur. In castris quoque ingens et maior prope quam in acie caedes est edita; nam et primorum fuga in castra maxime inclinavit,² et huius fiducia multitudinis, qui³ in praesidio erant, 11 pertinacius pro vallo pugnarunt. Retenti in portis valloque, quae se impetu ipso capturos crediderant, Romani, postquam tandem perruperunt, ab ira graviorem ediderunt caedem.

XLIV. Ad quinquaginta milia peditum caesa eo die dicuntur, equitum tria milia; mille et quadringenti capti et quindecim cum rectoribus elephantibus. 2 Romanorum aliquot vulnerati sunt; ceciderunt non plus trecenti pedites, quattuor et viginti equites et de Eumenis exercitu quinque et viginti.

3 Et illo quidem die victores direptis hostium castris cum magna praeda in sua reverterunt; postero die spoliabant caesorum corpora et captivos contrahabant. Legati ab Thyatira et Magnesia ab Sipylo ad 5 dedendas urbes venerunt. Antiochus cum paucis fugiens, in ipso itinere pluribus congregantibus se, modica manu armatorum media ferme nocte Sardis 6 concessit. Inde, cum audisset Seleucum filium et quosdam amicorum Apameam progressos, et ipse quarta vigilia cum coniuge ac filia petit Apameam. 7 Xenoni tradita custodia urbis, Timone Lydiae praeposito; quibus spretis consensu oppidanorum et

¹ ruerent et incursu *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ruerunt incursu *B*: ruerent incursu *et* ruerent et cursu *et* ruentes incursu *Γ*.

² inclinavit *Γ*: declinavit *B*.

³ qui *Γ*: quae *B*.

¹ Sardis.

the other or were trampled down by the charging B.C. 190 beasts. In the camp also there was great slaughter, greater, almost, than on the battle-field; for the first body of fugitives had chiefly made for the camp and, gaining confidence from this increase in numbers, the garrison fought with greater stubbornness from the rampart. The Romans, finding themselves held up at the gates and by the wall, which they had expected to carry at the first onset, when they finally broke through, in their passion caused greater destruction.

XLIV. About fifty thousand infantry are said to have been slain on that day and three thousand cavalry; fourteen hundred were captured and fifteen elephants with their drivers. Of the Romans, many were wounded; there were killed not more than three hundred infantry and twenty-four cavalry, and from the army of Eumenes twenty-five.

And on that day, indeed, the victors, having plundered the camp of the enemy, returned to their own laden with booty; on the next day they despoiled the bodies of the slain and gathered up the prisoners. Ambassadors from Thyatira and Magnesia near Sipylos came to surrender their cities. Antiochus, fleeing with a few companions and collecting more along the way, with a moderate-sized body of soldiers reached Sardis about midnight. Thence, when he heard that his son Seleucus and some of his friends had gone to Apamea, he too, about the fourth watch, with his wife and daughter sought Apamea. The guardianship of the city¹ was handed over to Xeno, and Timo was placed in charge of Lydia; but no regard was paid to them and, with the consent of the citizens and the soldiers who

militum, qui in arce erant, legati ad consulem missi sunt.

XLV. Sub idem fere tempus et ab Trallibus et a Magnesia quae super Maeandrum est, et ab Epheso
2 ad dedendas urbes venerunt. Reliquerat Ephesum Polyxenidas audita pugna, et classi usque ad Patara Lyciae pervectus, metu stationis Rhodiarum navium,¹ quae ad Megisten erant, in terram egressus cum
3 paucis itinere pedestri Syriam petit. Asiae civitates in fidem consulis dicionemque populi Romani sese tradebant. Sardibus iam consul erat; eo et P. Scipio ab Elaea, cum primum pati laborem viae potuit, venit.

4 Sub idem fere tempus caduceator ab Antiocho per P. Scipionem a consule petit impetravitque, ut
5 oratores mittere liceret regi. Paucos post dies Zeuxis, qui praefectus Lydiae fuerat,² et Antipater,
6 fratris filius, venerunt. Prius Eumene convento, quem propter vetera certamina aversum³ maxime a pace credebant esse, et placatiore eo et sua et regis spe invento, tum P. Scipionem et per eum consulem
7 adierunt; praebitoque iis petentibus frequenti consilio ad mandata edenda, "non tam quid ipsi dicamus habemus" inquit Zeuxis "quam ut a vobis quaeramus, Romani, quo piaculo expiare errorem regis, pacem veniamque impetrare a victoribus
8 possimus. Maximo semper animo victis regibus

¹ navium ε: om. B.

² fuerat ε: erat B.

³ auersum ε: uersum B.

were in the citadel, ambassadors were sent to the B.C. 190 consul.

XLV. About the same time ambassadors came also from Tralles and from Magnesia which is on the Meander river and from Ephesus to surrender their cities. Polyxenidas had left Ephesus when he heard of the battle, and having sailed with the fleet as far as Patara in Lycia, in fear of the guard of Rhodian ships which were at Megiste, he disembarked with a few men and made his way by land to Syria. The cities of Asia entrusted themselves to the good faith of the consul and the dominion of the Roman people. The consul was now at Sardis; thither too came Publius Scipio from Elaea, as soon as he could stand the hardships of the journey.

About the same time a herald from Antiochus, through the mediation of Publius Scipio, asked and obtained from the consul permission for the king to send ambassadors. A few days later Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lycia, and Antipater, the son of his brother, arrived. First meeting Eumenes, who, they thought, on account of their ancient quarrels, would be particularly opposed to peace, and finding him more favourably disposed towards peace than either they or the king had expected, they next interviewed Publius Scipio and through him the consul; and at their request they were received by a full council at which to announce their errand, and Zeuxis spoke thus: "We do not ourselves have anything to say so much as we ask of you, Romans, by what atonement we can expiate the error of the king and obtain peace and pardon from the conquerors. In your extreme generosity you have always pardoned defeated kings and

A.U.C.
564

populisque ignovistis; quanto id maiore et placatiore animo¹ decet vos facere in hac victoria, quae vos
 9 dominos orbis terrarum fecit? Positis iam adversus omnes mortales certaminibus haud secus quam deos consulere et parcere vos generi humano oportet."
 10 Iam antequam legati venirent, decretum erat quid²
 11 responderetur. Respondere Africanum placuit. Is in hunc modum locutus fertur: "Romani ex iis, quae in deum immortalium potestate erant, ea
 12 habemus, quae dii dederunt; animos, qui nostrae mentis sunt, eosdem in omni fortuna gessimus gerimusque, neque eos secundae res extulerunt nec adversae minuerunt. Eius rei, ut alios omittam, Hannibalem vestrum vobis testem darem, nisi vos ipsos
 13 dare possem. Postquam traiecimur Hellespontum, priusquam castra regia, priusquam aciem videremus, cum communis Mars et incertus belli eventus esset, de pace vobis agentibus quas pares paribus ferebamus condiciones, easdem nunc victores victis ferimus:
 14 Europa abstinete; Asia omni, quae cis Taurum montem est, decedite. Pro impensis deinde in bellum factis quindecim milia talentum Euboicorum dabit, quingenta praesentia, duo milia et quingenta, cum senatus populusque Romanus pacem comprobaverint; milia deinde³ talentum per duodecim
 15 annos. Eumeni quoque reddi quadringenta⁴ talenta et quod frumenti reliquum ex eo quod patri debitum

¹ animo 5: om. B.² quid 5: quod B.³ milia deinde Gruter: deinde B5.⁴ quadringenta 5: .XL. B.

¹ The Euboean talent was a universal standard of value, frequently employed in international transactions (XXXVIII.

peoples; with how much greater magnanimity and a.c. 190
 with inclinations how much more peaceful should
 you act in this victory which has made you masters
 of the world? Laying aside now quarrels with all
 mortals, you, like the gods, should consider and spare
 the human race." Even before the ambassadors
 arrived it had been decided what to reply. It was
 agreed that Africanus should answer. He is reported
 to have spoken to this effect: "Out of such things as
 were under the control of the immortal gods, we
 Romans have those things which the gods have given
 us; but our souls, which are subject to the will of our
 minds, we have kept and still keep unchanged in every
 kind of fortune, and neither has prosperity puffed them
 up nor has adversity depressed them. As proof of this,
 to omit all else, I should cite to you your Hannibal
 as witness if I could not cite yourselves. After we
 crossed the Hellespont, before we set eyes on the
 king's camp or beheld his battle-line, when Mars was
 approachable to both sides and the outcome of the
 war undetermined, when you raised the question of
 terms of peace, we offered conditions, as equals to
 equals, and these same conditions we now propose
 as victors to vanquished: keep your hands off Europe;
 withdraw from all Asia on this side of the Taurus
 mountains. Then, for the expenses incurred in the
 war, you will pay fifteen thousand Euboean talents,¹
 five hundred now, twenty-five hundred when the
 senate and the Roman people shall have ratified this
 treaty, then one thousand talents annually for twelve
 years. To Eumenes too it is our pleasure that four
 hundred talents be paid and the balance of the grain

xxxviii. 13; Polybius I. lxii; XV. xviii. etc.). Its value was the same as that of the Attic talent.

- A.U.C. 564 16 est placet. Haec cum pepigerimus, facturos vos ut pro certo habeamus, erit quidem aliquod pignus, si obsides viginti nostro arbitrato dabitis; sed numquam satis liquebit nobis ibi pacem esse populo Romano, ubi Hannibal erit; eum ante omnia depos-
- 17 cimus. Thoantem quoque Aetolum, concitorem Aetolici belli, qui et illorum fiducia vos et vestra illos in nos armavit, dedetis et cum eo Mnasilochum Acarnana et Chalcidenses Philonem et Eubulidam.
- 18 In deteriore sua fortuna pacem faciet rex, quia serius facit quam facere potuit. Si nunc moratus fuerit, sciat regum maiestatem difficilius ab summo fastigio ad medium detrahi quam a mediis ad ima praecipitari."
- 19 Cum iis mandatis ab rege missi erant legati ut omnem pacis condicionem¹ acciperent; itaque Romam mitti legatos placuit. Consul in hiberna exercitum Magnesiam ad Maeandrum et Tralles Ephesumque
- 20 divisit. Ephesum ad consulem paucos post dies obsides ab rege adducti sunt, et legati, qui Romam
- 21 irent, venerunt. Eumenes quoque eodem tempore

¹ condicionem ϵ : *om. B.*

¹ Nothing has been said of Hannibal since the defeat of the fleet by the Rhodians (xxiv. 11 above), but Nepos (*Hannibal* 9) says that he fled to Crete, and Livy (XXXIX. li. 1) and Polybius (XXIII. xiii) report him in Bithynia after Magnesia. Possibly his departure from the kingdom of Antiochus should be placed before the battle rather than after it. For various reasons the genuineness of this item in Scipio's speech seems open to question, although Polybius (XXI. xvii) also has it. The Romans seem not to have taken the demand for Hannibal and the others mentioned in the next sentence very seriously: no such clause was included in the negotiations at the Hellespont (xxxv above), although Scipio asserts that their demands were unchanged (the clauses in this chapter which

which is due his father. When we have made this agreement, in order that we may hold it as certain that you will carry it out, there will be some guarantee if you give us twenty hostages of our selection; but never will it be quite clear to us that the Roman people is at peace in any place where Hannibal shall be; him we demand before all else.¹ Thoas the Aetolian, too, provoker of the Aetolian war, who by your confidence in them armed you and by their confidence in you armed them against us, you will surrender, and with him Mnasilochus the Acarnanian² and Philo and Eubulidas of Chalcis.³ It will be in a worse plight that the king will make peace because he makes it later than he could have done. If he delays now, let him know that the majesty of kings falls with greater difficulty from the topmost point to the middle than it is hurled from the middle to the lowest point." The ambassadors from the king had been sent with instructions authorizing them to accept any proffer of peace; and so it was decided that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. The consul divided his army to winter at Magnesia on the Meander and at Tralles and at Ephesus. A few days later the hostages were delivered by the king to the consul at Ephesus and the envoys who were to go to Rome arrived. Eumenes also set out

differ are rather interpretations than modifications); provision was made for amendments to the treaty with respect to these persons (XXXVIII. xxxviii. 8); the vindictiveness of Scipio's language is disproportionate to the actual damage done by Hannibal in this war and inconsistent with the character of Scipio as it is revealed in his other relations with Hannibal.

¹ Cf. XXXVI. xii. 4.

² Not mentioned before by Livy, but cf. Polybius XXI. xvii.

A.U.C.
564

profectus est Romam, quo legati regis. Secutae eos sunt legationes omnium Asiae populorum.

- XLVI. Dum haec in Asia geruntur, duo fere sub idem tempus cum triumphi spe proconsules¹ de provinciis Romam redierunt, Q. Minucius ex Liguribus,
 2 M'. Acilius ex Aetolia. Auditis utriusque rebus gestis Minucio negatus triumphus, Acilio magno consensu decretus; isque triumphans de rege
 3 Antiocho et Aetolis urbem est invectus. Praelata in eo triumpho sunt signa militaria ducenta triginta et argenti infecti tria milia pondo, signati tetrachmum Atticum centum decem tria milia, cistophori ducenta undequinquaginta, vasa argentea caelata
 4 multa magnique ponderis; tulit et suppellectilem regiam argenteam ac vestem magnificam, coronas aureas, dona sociarum civitatum, quadraginta quinque, spolia omnis generis. Captivos nobiles, Aetolos
 5 et regios duces, sex et triginta duxit. Damocritus, Aetolorum dux, paucos ante dies, dum e carcere noctu effugisset, in ripa Tiberis consecutis custodibus, priusquam comprehenderetur, gladio se transfixit.
 6 Milites tantum qui sequerentur currum defuerunt; alioqui magnificus et spectaculo et fama rerum triumphus fuit.
 7 Huius triumphi minuit laetitiam nuntius ex Hispania tristis, adversa pugna in Bastetanis ductu L.²

¹ triumphi spe proconsules *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: triumphi spe *B: ex ceteris, alii aliud.*

² L. 5: *om. B.*

¹ The *cistophorus* was a coin worth three *denarii* and stamped with the image of the chest used in the mysteries.

² Acilius was later accused of appropriating part of the booty to his own use (lvii. 12-13 below).

for Rome at the same time as the ambassadors of the king. They were followed by embassies of all the peoples of Asia. B.C. 190

XLVI. While this was going on in Asia, two proconsuls at about the same time came from their provinces to Rome with hopes of triumphs; Quintus Minucius from the Ligures, Manius Acilius from Aetolia. When the achievements of the two had been heard, Minucius was refused a triumph, Acilius was granted one with general approval; and he rode into the City in triumph over King Antiochus and the Aetolians. There were carried in this triumph two hundred thirty military standards, three thousand pounds of silver bullion, one hundred thirteen thousand minted Attic four-drachma pieces, *cistophori*¹ to the number of two hundred and forty-nine thousand, embossed silver vessels in large numbers and of great weight; he displayed also a set of silver furniture belonging to the king and a splendid garment, forty-five golden crowns, the gifts of allied cities, and spoils of all kinds.² He led thirty-six noble prisoners, Aetolians and commanders in the king's army.³ Damocritus the Aetolian chief, a few days before, escaped from prison by night, and while the guards were pursuing him along the banks of the Tiber, slew himself with a sword before he was arrested. Only soldiers to follow the car were lacking; otherwise the triumph was splendid both as a spectacle and for the exploits it commemorated.

The pleasure of this triumph was diminished by a sad message from Spain, that in a defeat at the hands of the Lusitani in the country of the Bastetani near

³ In iii. 8 above there were forty-three such prisoners. Probably still others had died or escaped.

A.U.C.
664

Aemilii proconsulis apud oppidum Lyconem cum Lusitanis sex milia de Romano exercitu cecidisse, ceteros paventes intra vallum compulsos aegre castra defendisse et in modum fugientium magnis itineribus in agrum pacatum reductos. Haec ex Hispania nuntiata. Ex Gallia legatos Placentinorum et Cremonensium L. Aurunculeius praetor in senatum introduxit. Iis querentibus inopiam colonorum, aliis belli casibus aliis¹ morbo absumptis, quosdam taedio accolarum Gallorum reliquisse colonias, decrevit senatus uti C. Laelius consul, si ei videretur, sex milia familiarum conscriberet² quae in eas colonias dividerentur, et ut L. Aurunculeius praetor triumviros crearet ad eos colonos deducendos. Creati M. Atilius Serranus L. Valerius P. F. Flaccus L. Valerius C. F. Tappo.

XLVII. Haud ita multo post, cum iam consularium comitiorum appeteret tempus, C. Laelius consul ex Gallia Romam redit. Is non solum ex facto absente se senatus consulto in supplementum Cremonae et Placentiae colonos scripsit, sed ut novae coloniae duae in agrum qui Boiorum fuisset³ deducerentur, et rettulit et auctore eo patres censuerunt.⁴

3 Eodem tempore litterae L. Aemilii praetoris adlatae de navali pugna ad Myonnesum facta, et L.

¹ aliis b.c. aliis 5: alii b.c. alii B.

² conscriberet 5: om. B.

³ fuisset 5: fuissent B.

⁴ censuerunt 5: censuerant B.

the town of Lyco, six thousand of the Roman army B.C. 190 under the command of Lucius Aemilius the proconsul had fallen and the rest had been driven in panic inside the rampart, had defended the camp with difficulty and had been led back like fugitives with forced marches into pacified territory. This was the news from Spain. From Gaul, ambassadors from the people of Placentia and Cremona were introduced to the senate by Lucius Aurunculeius the praetor. When they complained of the shortage of colonists, some having been taken off by the fortunes of war, and some by disease, while others had left the colonies from reluctance to live with their Gallic neighbours, the senate decreed that Gaius Laelius the consul, if it should seem wise to him, should enrol six thousand families to be divided between these colonies and that Lucius Aurunculeius the praetor should create a board of three to conduct these colonists to their homes. The board created consisted of Marcus Atilius Serranus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the son of Publius, and Lucius Valerius Tappo, the son of Lucius.

XLVII. Not very long afterwards, since the time for the consular election was at hand, Gaius Laelius the consul returned from Gaul to Rome. He not only enrolled, in accordance with the decree of the senate passed in his absence, colonists as reinforcements for Cremona and Placentia, but he also moved that two new colonies should be established in the country which had belonged to the Boii, and on his proposal the Fathers so voted.

At the same time a despatch from Lucius Aemilius the praetor arrived, announcing the naval battle fought off Myonnesus and the fact that Lucius

A.U.C.
564

Scipionem consulem in Asiam exercitum traiecis-
 4 Victoriae navalis ergo in diem unum supplicatio decreta
 est, in alterum diem, quod exercitus Romanus tum
 primum in Asia posuisset castra, ut ea res prospera
 5 et laeta eveniret. Vicinis¹ maioribus hostiis in
 singulas supplicationes sacrificare consul est iussus.
 6 Inde consularia comitia magna contentione habita.
 M. Aemilius Lepidus petebat adversa omnium fama,
 quod provinciam Siciliam petendi causa non consulto
 7 senatu ut sibi id facere liceret, reliquisset.² Pete-
 bant cum eo M. Fulvius Nobilior Cn. Manlius Volso³
 M. Valerius Messalla. Fulvius consul unus creatur,
 cum ceteri centurias non explessent, isque postero
 die Cn. Manlium Lepido deiecit—nam Messalla
 8 iacuit—collegam dixit.⁴ Praetores exinde facti duo
 Q. Fabii, Labeo et Pictor—Pictor flamen⁵ Quirinalis
 eo anno inauguratus fuerat—M. Sempronius Tuditanus
 Sp. Postumius Albinus L. Plautius Hypsaecus⁶ L.
 Baebius Dives.

¹ uicenis : uicinis B.² reliquisset : requisisset B.³ Volso ed. *Mediolaniensis* 1480 ; cf. *infra*, xlviii. 1 : om. B.⁴ dixit : duxit B.⁵ Pictor flamen *Weissenborn* : flamen B.⁶ L. Plautius Hypsaecus : om. B.

¹ An election required the votes of a majority of the centuries for each candidate, and Fulvius alone had a majority, the other votes being split in such a way that no one else had a sufficient number.

Livy's account of the subsequent procedure is badly confused, and evidence with which to revise it is lacking. The first question is the date of the election of Fulvius. He could have presided at the election of his colleague only if he had himself been chosen on the last day of the preceding official year. The colloquialisms *deiecit* and *iacuit* and the technical phrase *collegam dixit* indicate that a second election was

Scipio the consul had transferred his army to Asia. B.C. 190

By reason of the naval victory a period of prayer for one day was proclaimed and a second day was added because a Roman army had then for the first time encamped in Asia, in order that this event might turn out prosperously and successfully. The consul was directed to sacrifice twenty full-grown victims on each day of the period of supplication.

Then the consular elections were held with active rivalry. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was a candidate amid universal disapproval because he had left his province of Sicily to conduct his campaign without a vote of the senate authorizing him to do so. The candidates with him were Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Gnaeus Manlius Volso, and Marcus Valerius Messalla. Fulvius was the only consul elected, since the others did not win the necessary number of centuries,¹ and he on the following day announced the choice of Gnaeus Manlius as his colleague, Lepidus being defeated—for Messalla had no chance.² Then the praetors were chosen; two named Quintus Fabius, Labeo and Pictor—Pictor had been installed as priest of Quirinus that year, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Spurius Postumius Albinus, Lucius Plautius Hypsaecus, Lucius Baebius Dives.

held and that Fulvius did not co-opt his colleague, and the last indicates that Fulvius presided at that election. On the other hand, the consuls and praetors were apparently inaugurated together as usual, and in that case Fulvius could not have been elected on the last day of one year and Manlius on the first day of the next. Livy has probably erroneously reconstructed the event from contradictory and ambiguous sources.

² Livy's use of *iacuit* is an echo of the political slang of his own day.

A.U.C.
565

XLVIII. M. Fulvio Nobiliore et Cn. Manlio Vol-
sone consulibus Valerius Antias auctor est rumorem
celebrem Romae fuisse et paene pro certo habitum,
2 recipiendi Scipionis adolescentis causa consulem L.
Scipionem et cum eo P. Africanum in colloquium
3 evocatos regis et ipsos comprehensos esse, et ducibus
captis confestim ad castra Romana exercitum ductum,
eaeque expugnata et deletas omnes copias Romanorum
4 esse. Ob haec Aetolos sustulisse animos et abnuisse
imperata facere, principesque eorum in Macedoniam
et in Dardanos et in Thraeciam ad conducenda mer-
cede auxilia profectos. Haec qui nuntiarent Romam,
A. Terentium Varronem et M. Claudium Lepidum
ab A. Cornelio propraetore ex Aetolia missos esse.
6 Subtexit deinde fabulae huic legatos Aetolos in
senatu¹ inter cetera hoc quoque interrogatos esse,
unde audissent imperatores Romanos in Asia captos
ab Antiocho rege et exercitum deletum² esse;
7 Aetolos respondisse ab suis legatis se, qui cum consule
fuerint, certiores factos. Rumoris huius quia nemi-
nem alium auctorem habeo, neque adfirmata res mea
opinionem sit nec pro vana praetermissa.

XLIX. Aetoli legati in senatum introducti, cum
et causa eos sua et fortuna hortaretur, ut confitendo
seu³ culpaе seu errori veniam supplices peterent,
2 orsi a beneficiis in populum Romanum et prope

¹ senatu *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : senatum *B*5.

² deletum 5 : delectu *B*.

³ seu 5 : se *B*.

¹ The meaning of this sentence is obscure. The assumption that it is a criticism of the historiography of Antias is contradicted by the first clause, and Livy, of course, was aware that the story was untrue.

XLVIII. In the consulship of Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Gnaeus Manlius Volso, Valerius Antias records that a rumour was generally circulated in Rome and taken as almost certain that, for the purpose of recovering the young Scipio, the consul Lucius Scipio and with him Publius Africanus had been invited to a conference with the king and had been arrested, and that after the capture of their generals the army had been led against the Roman camp, that this had been captured and all the Roman forces destroyed; that for this reason the Aetolians had taken heart and refused to obey orders and their chiefs had gone to Macedonia and the Dardani-
ans and to Thrace to secure auxiliaries for hire and that Aulus Terentius and Marcus Claudius Lepidus had been sent to bring this report by Aulus Cornelius the propraetor in Aetolia. It added a further item to the story that the Aetolian ambassadors among other things were also asked in the senate, from what sources they had learned that the Roman commanders in Asia had been taken prisoners by King Antiochus and the army wiped out; that the Aetolians replied that they had been informed by their ambassadors who had been with the consul. Because I have no other authority for this story the rumour, in my judgment, should not have been given credence nor yet dismissed as without foundation.¹

XLIX. The Aetolian ambassadors, when introduced to the senate, although both their own interests and their situation urged them by confessing their fault or their mistake, whichever one chooses to call it, to supplicate for pardon, began by reciting their services to the Roman people, and almost belliger-

exprobrantes virtutem suam in Philippi bello et
 3 offenderunt aures insolentia sermonis et eo, vetera
 et oblitterata repetendo, rem adduxerunt ut haud
 paulo plurium maleficiorum gentis quam beneficiorum
 memoria subiret animos patrum, et quibus miseri-
 4 cordia opus erat, iram et odium irritarent. Interro-
 gati ab uno senatore, permetterentne¹ arbitrium de
 se populo Romano, deinde ab altero, habiturine²
 eosdem quos populus Romanus socios et hostes³
 essent, nihil ad ea respondentes egredi templo iussi
 5 sunt. Conclamatum deinde prope ab universo senatu
 est totos adhuc Antiochi Aetolos esse et ex unica ea
 spe pendere animos eorum; itaque bellum cum
 haud dubiis hostibus gerendum perdomandosque
 6 feroces animos esse. Illa etiam res accendit quod
 eo ipso tempore quo pacem ab Romanis petebant,
 Dolopiae atque Athamaniae bellum inferebant.
 7 Senatus consultum in M'. Acilii sententiam, qui
 Antiochum Aetolosque devicerat, factum est ut
 Aetoli eo die iuberentur proficisci ab urbe et intra
 8 quintumdecimumdiem Italia excedere. A. Terentius
 Varro ad custodiendum iter eorum missus, denuntia-
 tumque,⁴ si qua deinde legatio ex Aetolis, nisi per-
 missu imperatoris, qui eam provinciam obtineret,
 et cum legato Romano venisset Romam, pro hostibus
 omnes futuros. Ita dimissi Aetoli.

¹ permetterentne ς : permetterent *B*.

² habiturine ς : habiturosne *B*.

³ hostis ς : hostus *B*.

⁴ denuntiatumque ς : nuntiatumque *B*.

¹ These are the alternatives of i. 5 above.

ently lauded their own valour in the war with Philip B.C. 189
 and offended men's ears by their insolent language
 and, by recalling old and forgotten incidents, brought
 things to such a pass, that the memory of the mis-
 deeds of that people, far more numerous than their
 services, filled the minds of the Fathers, and that
 men whose need was for mercy roused only anger
 and hatred. On being questioned by one senator
 whether they would leave the decision regarding
 themselves to the Roman people, and then by
 another whether they would agree to have the same
 friends and enemies as the Roman people,¹ and
 making no reply to the questions, they were
 ordered to leave the temple. The shout went up
 from almost the entire senate that the Aetolians
 still belonged entirely to Antiochus and that their
 thoughts turned on this one hope; and so the war
 should go on with them, as beyond doubt enemies,
 and their haughty spirits should be well broken.
 This circumstance too inflamed their minds, that
 at the very time when they were asking peace of
 the Romans they were invading Dolopia and Atha-
 mania. A decree of the senate was passed on
 the motion of Manius Acilius, the man who had
 conquered Antiochus and the Aetolians, that the
 Aetolians should be ordered to leave the City that
 day and Italy within fifteen days. Aulus Terentius
 Varro was delegated to safeguard their journey,
 and formal notice was served that if any embassy
 thereafter from the Aetolians came to Rome except
 with the consent of the commander who held that
 province and accompanied by a Roman commissioner,
 they would treat all its members as enemies. In
 this fashion the Aetolians were dismissed.

A.U.C.
565

L. De provinciis deinde consules rettulerunt; sor-
 2 tiri eos Aetoliam et Asiam placuit; qui Asiam sortitus
 3 esset, ei exercitus quem L. Scipio haberet est
 decretus et in eum supplementum quattuor milia
 peditum Romanorum, ducenti equites, et sociorum
 ac Latini nominis octo milia peditum, quadringenti
 equites; his copiis ut bellum cum Antiocho gereret.
 4 Alteri consuli exercitus qui erat in Aetolia est
 decretus, et ut in supplementum scriberet permissum
 civium sociorumque eundem numerum,¹ quem collega.
 5 Naves quoque idem consul, quae priore anno paratae
 erant, ornare iussus ac ducere secum; nec cum
 Aetolis solum bellum gerere, sed etiam in Ceph-
 6 laniam insulam traicere. Mandatum eidem ut, si
 per commodum rei publicae facere posset, ut ad
 7 comitia Romam veniret; nam, praeterquam quod
 magistratus annui subrogandi essent, censores quoque
 placere creari. Si qua res eum teneret, senatum
 certiore faceret² se ad comitiorum tempus occurrere
 8 non posse. Aetolia M. Fulvio, Asia Cn. Manlio
 sorte evenit. Praetores deinde sortiti sunt, Sp.
 Postumius Albinus urbanam et inter peregrinos,
 M. Sempronius Tuditanus Siciliam, Q. Fabius Pictor,
 flamen Quirinalis, Sardiniam, Q. Fabius Labeo
 classem, L. Plautius Hypsaesus Hispaniam citeriorem,
 9 L. Baebius Dives Hispaniam ulteriorem. Siciliae
 legio una et classis, quae in ea provincia erat, decreta,

¹ eundem numerum 5: om. B.² faceret 5: facere B.¹ Cf. iv. 5 above. ² Cf. XXXVI. xxxi. 10 and the note.

L. Then the question of the provinces was brought B.C. 189
 up by the consuls; it was decided that they should
 draw lots for Aetolia and Asia; the one to whom
 Asia was allotted should be assigned the army which
 Lucius Scipio had, and as reinforcement for it four
 thousand Roman infantry and two hundred cavalry,
 and of the allies of the Latin confederacy eight
 thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry; with
 these forces he was to conduct the war against
 Antiochus. To the other consul the army which
 was in Aetolia was decreed, and he was authorized
 to enlist as reinforcements the same number of
 citizens and allies as his colleague. The same con-
 sul, moreover, was directed to fit out and take with
 him the ships which had been built the year before;¹
 and not to wage war with the Aetolians alone, but
 also to cross to the island of Cephallania.² The
 same consul was instructed, if he could do so advan-
 tageously to the state, to come to Rome for the
 elections; for, apart from the fact that the new
 annual magistrates were to be chosen, it was their
 pleasure to elect censors also. If anything detained
 him, he should inform the senate that he could not
 be present at the time of the elections. Aetolia
 fell to Marcus Fulvius, Asia to Gnaeus Manlius, as
 a result of the drawing. The praetors then drew
 lots, and Spurius Postumius Albinus received the
 civil jurisdiction and that between citizens and
 aliens, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus Sicily, Quintus
 Fabius Pictor, the priest of Quirinus, Sardinia,
 Quintus Fabius Labeo the fleet, Lucius Plautius
 Hypsaesus Nearer Spain, Lucius Baebius Dives
 Farther Spain. For Sicily one legion and the fleet
 which was in the province were decreed; and the

A.U.C.
565

et ut duas decumas frumenti novus praetor¹ imperaret Siculis; earum alteram in Asiam, alteram in Aetoliam mitteret. Idem² ab Sardis exigi atque ad eosdem exercitus id frumentum, ad quos Siculum, deportari iussum. L. Baebio supplementum in Hispaniam datum mille Romani pedites, equites quinquaginta, et sex milia peditum Latini nominis, ducenti equites; Plautio Hypsaeco in Hispaniam citeriorem mille Romani dati sunt pedites, duo milia socium Latini nominis et ducenti equites; cum his supplementis ut singulas legiones duae Hispaniae haberent. Prioris anni magistratibus, C. Laelio cum suo exercitu prorogatum in annum³ imperium est; prorogatum et P. Iunio propraetori in Etruria cum eo exercitu, qui in provincia esset, et M. Tuccio propraetori in Brutiis et Apulia.

LI. Priusquam in provincias praetores irent certamen inter P. Licinium pontificem maximum fuit et Q. Fabium Pictorem⁴ flaminem Quirinalem, quale patrum memoria inter L. Metellum et Postumium Albinum fuerat. Consulem illum cum C. Lutatio collega in Siciliam ad classem proficiscentem ad sacra retinuerat Metellus, pontifex maximus; praetorem hunc, ne in Sardiniam proficisceretur,⁵ P. Licinius tenuit. Et in senatu et ad populum magnis contentionibus certatum, et imperia inhibita ultro citroque, et pignera capta, et multae dictae, et tribuni appellati, et provocatum ad populum est.

¹ praetor 5: p.r. B.² idem 5: idem idem B.³ in annum 5: om. B.⁴ Pictorem 5: praetorem B.⁵ proficisceretur 5: proficiscetur B.

¹ Probably a phrase concerning Roman cavalry has been lost.

new praetor was ordered to levy two tithes of grain on the Sicilians; one of them he should send to Asia, the other to Aetolia. The same was also ordered to be exacted from the Sardinians and the corn shipped to the same armies as that from Sicily. To Lucius Baebius as replacements for service in Spain were given one thousand Roman infantry and fifty cavalry and six thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry of the Latin confederacy; to Plautius Hypsaecus for Nearer Spain were assigned one thousand Roman infantry¹ and of the allies of the Latin confederacy two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry; with these additions the two Spains would have one legion each. As for the magistrates of the year before, prorogation of the *imperium* for one year was ordered for Gaius Laelius with his army; the same was done for Publius Junius, propraetor in Etruria, with the army which was in the province, and for Marcus Tuccius, propraetor among the Brutti and in Apulia.

LI. Before the praetors went to their provinces there was a dispute between Publius Licinius the pontifex maximus and Quintus Fabius Pictor the priest of Quirinus, such as within the memory of our fathers arose between Lucius Metellus and Postumius Albinus. When that consul was setting out with his colleague Gaius Lutatius to Sicily and the fleet, Metellus the pontifex maximus had detained him for the religious ceremonies; this praetor was prevented from going to Sardinia by Publius Licinius. Both in the senate and before the assembly the quarrel was carried on with great vigour, and orders were issued on both sides and guarantees taken and fines imposed and tribunes applied to and appeals

A.U.C.
665

5 Religio ad ¹ postremum vicit; ut dicto audiens esset ²
 flamen pontifici iussus; et multa iussu populi ei
 6 remissa. Ira provinciae ereptae praetorem magis-
 tratu abdicare se conantem patres auctoritate sua
 deterruerunt et ³ ut ius inter peregrinos diceret ⁴
 7 decreverunt. Dilectibus deinde intra paucos dies
 —neque enim multi milites legendi erant—perfectis
 consules praetoresque in provincias proficiscuntur.
 8 Fama dein de rebus in Asia gestis temere vulgata
 sine auctore, et post dies paucos nuntii certi litteraeque
 9 imperatoris Romam adlatae, quae non tantum
 gaudium ab recenti metu attulerunt—desierant
 enim victum in Aetolia regem ⁵ metuere—quam a
 vetere ⁶ fama, quod ineuntibus id bellum gravis
 hostis et suis viribus, et quod Hannibalem rectorem
 10 militiae haberet, visus fuerat. Nihil tamen aut de
 consule mittendo in Asiam mutandum aut minuendas
 eius copias censuerunt metu, ne cum Gallis foret
 bellandum.

LII. Haud multo post M. Aurelius Cotta legatus

¹ ad 5: om. B.

² esset 5: essent B.

³ et 5: sed B.

⁴ diceret 5: dicere B.

⁵ regem aut Antiochum Madvig: om. B5.

⁶ a vetere Rubens: auerterunt B5.

¹ Livy's account of this affair is more vivid than accurate. The phrase *ultro citroque* probably belongs to all the verbs that follow, which describe various aspects of procedure under the *ius civile*; *pignera capta* refers to the giving of bonds for appearance in court, while the other items are regular legal consequences. The praetor exercises jurisdiction by virtue of his *imperium*, the pontifex by virtue of his right to supervise and if necessary to coerce priests of lower rank. In case of a judgment the right of appeal to the assembly (*provocatio*) existed.

presented to the assembly.¹ The religious argu- B.C. 189
 ment finally prevailed; the priest was ordered ² to
 obey the pontifex, and by command of the people
 the fine was remitted to him. When, in anger at
 being deprived of his province,³ he tried to resign
 his office, the Fathers by their influence prevented
 him and decreed that he should exercise jurisdiction
 between citizens and aliens. The levies being then
 completed within a few days—for not many soldiers
 were to be enrolled—the consuls and praetors
 departed to their provinces.

Then there was a rumour idly circulated with no
 definite authority about events in Asia, and a few
 days later trustworthy messengers and the despatches
 of the consul reached Rome, which did not so much
 bring joy after recent fear—for they had ceased to
 fear the king after his defeat in Aetolia—as on
 account of his former reputation, since, when they
 entered upon the war he seemed a dangerous adver-
 sary, partly because of his own resources and partly
 because he had Hannibal as his director of opera-
 tions. Nevertheless, they decreed that there should
 be neither any change in the plan to send the consul
 to Asia nor any diminution in his forces, for fear
 that he would be compelled to fight with the Gauls.⁴

LII. Not much later Marcus Aurelius Cotta,

² This order came presumably from the assembly when the appeals were laid before it. The remission of the fine is clearly its work.

³ A provincial command required absence from Rome and was thus incompatible with religious duties. Since resignation was not provided for in the constitutional system, the senate found employment in Rome for Fabius by re-establishing the two judicial *provinciae*.

⁴ Livy means the Galatians, who had sent troops to aid Antiochus (xv. 5, etc. above).

A.U.C.
665

L. Scipionis cum Antiochi regis legatis et Eumenes
 2 rex Rhodique Romam venerunt. Cotta in senatu
 primum, deinde in contione ¹ iussu patrum quae acta
 in Asia essent exposuit. Supplicatio inde in triduum
 decreta est, et quadraginta maiores hostiae immolari
 3 iussae. Tum omnium primum Eumeni senatus datus
 est. Is cum breviter et egisset gratias patribus quod
 obsidione se ac fratrem exemissent regnumque ab
 iniuriis Antiochi vindicassent, et gratulatus esset,
 4 quod terra marique res prospere gessissent, quodque
 regem Antiochum fusum fugatumque et exutum
 castris prius Europa, post et ² Asia, quae cis Taurum
 5 montem est, expulissent, sua deinde merita malle
 eos ex imperatoribus suis legatisque quam se com-
 6 memorante cognoscere ³ dixit. Haec approbantibus
 cunctis iubentibusque dicere ipsum, ommissa in id
 verecundia, quid sibi ab senatu populoque Romano
 tribui aequum censeret; propensius cumulatusque,
 si quo possit, prout eius merita sint, senatum fac-
 7 turum, ad ea rex, si ab aliis sibi praemiorum optio
 deferretur, libenter, data modo facultate consulendi
 senatum Romanum, consilio amplissimi ordinis usu-
 rum fuisse, ne quid aut immoderate ⁴ cupisse aut
 8 petisse parum modeste videri posset; verum enimvero
 cum ipsi daturi sint, multo magis munificentiam eorum

¹ contione 5: contentione B.² post et 5: et B: postea M.³ cognoscere ed. Frobeniana 1535: cognosci Bc.⁴ immoderate 5: immoderata B.

representing Lucius Scipio, came with the ambas- B.C. 189
 sadors of King Antiochus, and King Eumenes and
 the Rhodians arrived in Rome. Cotta first in the
 senate and then before the assembly by order of
 the senate described what had occurred in Asia.
 A period of thanksgiving was then proclaimed for
 three days and forty full-grown victims were ordered
 sacrificed. Then first of all Eumenes was granted
 an audience by the senate. When he had briefly
 thanked the Fathers because they had rescued
 him and his brother from siege and saved his king-
 dom from the violence of Antiochus, and then con-
 gratulated them because success had attended their
 efforts on land and sea and because they had driven
 King Antiochus, defeated, routed and stripped of his
 camp, first out of Europe and then out of Asia on
 this side of the Taurus mountains, he said next that
 he preferred that they should hear of his own services
 from their own commanders and legates than from his
 relation of them. All applauded this, and bade
 him lay aside his modesty in this respect and say him-
 self what he thought should properly be given him by
 the senate and the Roman people: the senate, they
 said, would act with greater readiness and greater
 generosity, if it were possible, in accordance with his
 merits; to this the king replied that if a choice of
 rewards were offered him by others, he would have
 been glad, if only the privilege of consulting the
 Roman senate were granted him, to enjoy the advice
 of that most distinguished body, that he might not
 seem either to have conceived immoderate ambitions
 or to have stated them with too little restraint; but
 in fact, since they themselves were planning to
 give something to him, so much the more should

A.U.C.
665

in se fratresque suos ipsorum arbitrii debere esse.
 9 Nihil hac oratione eius patres conscripti deterriti
 sunt quo minus dicere ipsum iuberent, et, cum
 aliquamdiu hinc indulgentia hinc modestia inter
 permittentes in vicem non magis mutua quam inex-
 plicabili facilitate certatum esset, Eumenes ex
 10 templo excessit. Senatus in eadem perstare sen-
 tentia, ut absurdum esse diceret ignorare regem,
 quid sperans aut petens venerit; quae accommodata
 regno suo sint, ipsum optime scire; Asiam longe
 melius quam senatum nosse; revocandum igitur et
 cogendum quae vellet quaeque sentiret expromere.

LIII. Reductus a praetore in templum rex et
 dicere iussus "perseverassem" inquit "tacere,
 patres conscripti, nisi Rhodiorum legationem mox
 vocaturos vos scirem, et illis auditis mihi necessitatem
 2 fore dicendi. Quae quidem eo difficilior oratio erit,
 quod ea postulata eorum futura sunt, ut non solum
 nihil, quod contra me sit, sed ne¹ quod ad ipsos
 3 quidem proprie pertineat, petere videantur. Agent
 enim causam civitatum Graecarum, et liberari eas
 dicent debere. Quo impetrato, cui dubium est quin
 et a nobis aversuri sint non eas modo civitates quae
 liberabuntur, sed etiam veteres stipendiarias nostras,

¹ sed ne 5: et ne B.

¹ This point is a trifle embarrassing, since Rome had denied to Antiochus the right to recover cities that had once been free: cf. XXXV. xvi. 10-11. Rome now begins to see some of the pitfalls which confront her in the east.

their generosity to him and his brothers be con- B.C. 189
 trolled by their own judgment. The Fathers were
 not deterred by these words from urging him to
 speak, and when the argument had continued for
 some time between generosity on one side and
 modesty on the other, between men who were leaving
 the decision to one another with a suavity not more
 equal in both than difficult to modify, Eumenes left
 the temple. The senate remained unaltered in the
 same determination, to the point of saying that it
 seemed unreasonable that the king should not know
 with what hopes and aspirations he had come; he
 himself knew best what was suitable for his king-
 dom; he was far better acquainted with Asia than
 the senate; he should therefore be recalled and
 compelled to say what he wished and what were his
 opinions.

LIII. The king was therefore brought back into
 the temple by the praetor, and, being ordered to
 speak, began thus: "I should have continued, con-
 script Fathers, in my silence, did I not know that
 you would presently summon the embassy of the
 Rhodians and that after they were heard it would
 be necessary for me to speak. This discussion,
 indeed, will be the more difficult because these
 demands of theirs will be such that they will not
 only seem to ask nothing which is against my inter-
 ests, but not even seem to ask for what is particularly
 their concern. For they will plead the cause of the
 Greek cities, and will say that they should be set
 free. If this is granted, who doubts that they will
 deprive us not merely of the states that are to be
 liberated but of our ancient tributaries¹ as well, while
 they themselves will have nominally, indeed, allies,

a.u.c.
565

- 4 ipsi¹ autem tanto obligatos beneficio verbo socios, re vera subiectos imperio et obnoxios habituri sint?
 5 Et, si dis placet, cum has tantas opes affectabunt, dissimulabunt ulla parte id ad se pertinere; vos modo id decere et conveniens esse ante factis dicent.
 6 Haec vos ne decipiat oratio providendum vobis erit, neve non solum inaequaliter alios nimium deprimatis ex sociis vestris, alios praeter modum extollatis, sed etiam ne, qui adversus vos arma tulerint, in meliore
 7 statu sint quam socii et² amici vestri. Quod ad me attinet, in aliis rebus cessisse intra finem iuris mei cuilibet videri malim quam nimis pertinaciter in obtinendo eo tetendisse;³ in certamine autem amicitiae vestrae, benevolentiae erga vos, honoris, qui ab vobis habebitur, minime aequo animo vinci possum. Hanc ego maximam hereditatem a patre accepi, qui primus omnium Asiam Graeciamque
 8 incolentium in amicitiam venit vestram eamque perpetua et constanti fide ad extremum vitae finem
 9 perduxit; nec animum dumtaxat vobis fidelem ac bonum praestitit, sed omnibus interfuit bellis, quae in Graecia gessistis, terrestribus navalibus, omni genere commeatum, ita ut nemo sociorum vestrorum
 10 ulla parte aequari posset, vos adiuvit; postremo, cum Boeotos ad societatem vestram hortaretur, in ipsa contione intermortuus haud multo post exspiravit.
 11 Huius ego vestigia ingressus voluntati⁴ quidem et

¹ ipsi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: sibi *B*γ.

² et *ed. Aldina*: aut *B*γ.

³ eo tetendisse γ: eos tendisse *B*.

⁴ voluntati *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: uolunte *B*: uoluntate γ.

¹ Cf. XXVI. xxiv. 9; this was in 211 B.C.

² Literally, fainting; cf. XXXIII. ii. 2; for his obituary cf. XXXIII. xxi. 1-5.

bound to them by so great a service, but in reality B.C. 189 subject to their dominion and dependent upon it? And—heaven help us!—while they have their eyes fixed on such power, they will pretend that this is no concern of theirs; they will say only that this is suitable conduct for you and consistent with what you have done in the past. That you shall not be entrapped by such reasoning must be your own care, and not only that you shall not unduly hold down some of your allies inequitably and raise up others beyond proper limits, but also that those who have borne arms against you shall not be in better case than your allies and friends. So far as I am concerned, I should prefer to seem, in other respects, to have yielded something to anyone, though it was within the limits of my rights, than to have struggled too stubbornly to maintain it; but in a contest of friendship towards you, of goodwill towards you, of respect which is due you, I cannot willingly be overcome. This is the greatest inheritance I have received from my father, who first¹ of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece entered into your friendship and who maintained it with constant and true faith to the very end of his life; nor did he merely assume a pose of being your loyal and well-disposed friend, but he took part in all your wars which you waged in Greece, and he aided you with military and naval forces and all manner of supplies, so that none of your allies can be ranked on an equality with him in any respect; last of all, while he was urging the Boeotians to join your alliance, collapsing² in the very midst of his speech, he breathed his last only a little while afterwards. I, following in his footsteps, have not

A.U.C.
565

- studio in colendis vobis adicere—etenim inex-
 12 superabilia haec erant—nihil potui; rebus ipsis
 meritisque et impensis officiorum ut superare possem,¹
 fortuna tempora Antiochus et bellum in Asia gestum
 13 prae buerunt materiam. Rex Asiae et partis Europae
 Antiochus filiam suam in matrimonium mihi dabat;
 restituebat extemplo civitates quae defecerant a
 nobis; spem magnam in posterum amplificandi regni
 faciebat, si secum bellum adversus vos gessissem.
 14 Non gloriabor eo, quod nihil in vos deliquerim; illa
 potius, quae vetustissima domus nostrae² vobiscum
 15 amicitia digna sunt, referam. Pedestribus navali-
 busque copiis, ut nemo sociorum vestrorum me
 aequiperare posset, imperatores vestros adiuvi;
 commeatus terra marique suppeditavi; navalibus
 proeliis, quae multis locis facta sunt, omnibus adfui;
 16 nec labori meo nec periculo usquam peperi. Quod
 miserrimum est in bello, obsidionem passus sum,
 Pergami inclusus cum discrimine ultimo simul vitae
 17 regnique. Liberatus deinde obsidione, cum alia
 parte Antiochus alia Seleucus circa arcem regni mei
 castra haberent, relictis meis rebus tota classe ad
 Hellespontum L. Scipioni consuli vestro occurri, ut
 18 eum in traiciendo exercitu adiuverem. Posteaquam
 in Asiam exercitus vester est transgressus, numquam
 a consule abscessi; nemo miles Romanus magis
 adsiduus in castris fuit vestris quam ego fratresque
 mei; nulla expeditio, nullum equestre proelium sine

¹ ut superare possem ζ : om. B.² nostrae ζ : uestrae B.

been able to add anything to his good-will, indeed, B.C. 189
 and his zeal in honouring you—for these are not to
 be surpassed; that I was able to outdo him in actual
 accomplishments and services and expenditure of
 effort for you, fate, the times, Antiochus, and the
 war waged in Asia have furnished opportunity.
 Antiochus, king of Asia and part of Europe, wished
 to give me his daughter in marriage; he offered to
 restore at once the cities which had revolted from
 us; he held out great prospects of future enlarge-
 ment of my kingdom, if I should join him in war
 upon you.¹ I shall not make a boast of the fact
 that I have done you no wrong; I shall rather relate
 what is worthy of the very ancient friendship between
 our house and you. With my army and navy, on
 such a scale that no one of your allies could equal
 it, I aided your commanders; I supplied them with
 provisions on land and sea; I took part in all the
 naval battles which were fought in many places;
 I never spared either my toil or my peril. The
 most wretched fate in war, siege, I suffered, shut up
 in Pergamum, to the extreme peril at once of life
 and throne. Then, freed from siege, when Antiochus
 on one side, Seleucus on the other, had their camps
 around the citadel of my kingdom, I let my own
 affairs go and with my whole fleet met Lucius
 Scipio at the Hellespont to aid him in transporting
 his army across. After your army arrived in Asia,
 I never left the consul; no Roman soldier was more
 constantly in your camp than I and my brothers;
 no raid, no cavalry engagement, took place without

¹ Polybius (XXII. iii) has Antiochus offer Eumenes his daughter and a share in his kingdom. Appian (*Syr.* 5) says that he declined the marriage.

A.U.C. 565 19 me factum est; in acie ibi steti, eam partem sum¹ tutatus in qua me consul esse voluit. Non sum hoc dicturus, patres conscripti: quis hoc bello meritis
 20 erga vos mecum comparari potest? Ego nulli omnium neque populorum neque regum, quos in magno honore habetis, non ausim me comparare.
 21 Masinissa hostis vobis ante quam socius fuit, nec incolumi regno cum auxiliis suis, sed extorris, expulsus, amissis omnibus copiis, cum turma equitum in
 22 castra confugit vestra; tamen eum, quia² in Africa adversus Syphacem et Carthaginienses fideliter atque impigre vobiscum stetit, non in patrium solum regnum restituitis, sed adiecta opulentissima parte Syphacis regni praepotentem inter Africae reges
 23 fecistis. Quo tandem igitur nos praemio atque honore digni apud vos sumus, qui numquam hostes,
 24 semper socii fuimus? Pater, ego, fratres mei non in Asia tantum, sed etiam procul ab domo in Peloponneso in Boeotia in Aetolia, Philippi Antiochi Aetolico bello, terra marique pro vobis arma tulimus.
 25 'Quid ergo postulas?' dicat aliquis. Ego, patres conscripti, quoniam dicere utique volentibus vobis parendum est, si vos ea mente ultra Tauri iuga emostis Antiochum, ut ipsi teneretis eas terras, nullos accolas nec finitimos habere quam vos malo,
 26 nec ulla re alia tutius stabiliusque regnum meum
 27 futurum spero; sed si vobis decedere inde atque deducere exercitus in animo est, neminem digniorem

¹ sum 5: om. B.² quia 5: qui B.

me; I stood in the battle-line and defended that sector in which the consul wished me to be. I shall not, conscript Fathers, ask: Who can be compared with me in his services in this war? I should not venture to compare myself with anyone, either people or king, whom you hold in great honour. Masinissa was your enemy before he was your ally, nor was it while his kingdom was uninjured and he could bring his own troops to your help, but when he was an exile, banished, with all his resources gone, that he fled with one troop of cavalry to your camp; nevertheless, because he stood loyally and steadfastly with you in Africa against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you not only restored him to his paternal kingdom but, bestowing upon him the richest part of the realm of Syphax, you made him pre-eminent among the kings of Africa. Of what reward and honour, pray, are we then worthy in your sight, who have never been your enemies, always your allies? My father, myself, my brothers, not in Asia alone, but far from home, in the Peloponnesus, in Boeotia, in Aetolia, in the wars with Philip, with Antiochus, with the Aetolians, on land and sea, have borne arms in your cause. But someone may say, 'What then do you ask?' As to that, conscript Fathers, (since I must in any case obey your wish that I should speak) if you expelled Antiochus beyond the heights of Taurus with the intention of yourselves holding those lands, there are no neighbours or settlers whom I prefer to you, nor do I expect that my kingdom will be safer or more enduring under any other circumstances; but if it is your purpose to retire and withdraw your armies from there, I should dare to say that no one of

A.U.C.
565

esse ex sociis vestris, qui bello ¹ a vobis parta possideat
28 quam me dicere ausim. At enim magnificum est
liberare civitates servas. Ita opinor, si nihil hostile
adversus vos fecerunt; sin autem Antiochi partis
fuerunt, quanto est vestra prudentia et aequitate
dignius sociis bene meritis quam hostibus vos
consulere?"

LIV. Grata oratio regis patribus fuit, et facile
apparere munifice omnia et propenso animo facturos.
2 Interposita Zmyrnaeorum brevis legatio est, quia non
aderat ² quidam Rhodiorum. Collaudatis egregie
Zmyrnaeis, quod omnia ultima pati quam se regi
3 tradere maluissent, introducti Rhodii sunt. Quorum
princeps legationis expositis initiis amicitiae cum
populo Romano meritisque ³ Rhodiorum Philippi
4 prius, deinde Antiochi bello "nihil" inquit "nobis
tota nostra actione, patres conscripti,⁴ neque
difficilius neque molestius est, quam quod cum
5 Eumene nobis disceptatio est, cum quo uno maxime
regum et privatim singulis et, quod magis nos movet,
6 publicum civitati nostrae hospitium est. Ceterum

¹ bello 5: in bello B.

² aderat *Ruperti*: aderant B5.

³ meritisque 5: meritis B.

⁴ patres conscripti 5: om. B.

¹ This speech is in essence the same as that in Polybius (XXII. ii.-iv. incl.), but somewhat more effectively expressed.

The problems confronting Roman statesmanship now assume more definite outline. Rome must choose between offending Eumenes or the Rhodians or both and abandoning the policy enunciated by Flamininus, unless some universally satisfactory compromise can be found. The liberation of the Ionian cities was frequently mentioned in the earlier negotiations with Antiochus, though later it was replaced by a demand that he cease to interfere in European affairs. Compare the speech of Sulpicius (XXXV. xvi.) with that of Africanus (xlv. above).

² Polybius (XXII. v.) gives a generally similar account, but with a less definite statement of the action taken.

your allies is more worthy than I to hold what you ^{B.O. 189} have won in war. But there will be protests because it is a fine thing to liberate enslaved cities. Such is my opinion, if they have committed no hostile acts against you; but if they were of Antiochus' party, how much more worthy of your wisdom and justice is it to have regard for well-deserving allies than for enemies?" ¹

LIV. The speech of the king pleased the Fathers, and it was quite evident that they would deal with the whole matter generously and in a sympathetic spirit. A brief audience was then accorded the delegation from the Zmyrnaeans, since one of the Rhodians had not yet arrived. The Zmyrnaeans were conspicuously lauded because they had preferred to endure all extremities rather than submit to the king,² and the Rhodians were introduced. The chief of their embassy, after setting forth the origins of their friendship with the Roman people and the services of the Rhodians, first in the war with Philip and later in the war with Antiochus, continued thus: "Nothing in all our pleading, conscript Fathers, is so difficult for us or so painful as the fact that our difference of opinion is with Eumenes, with whom alone of kings and in preference to all others, both individuals of our community privately and, what moves us more, our state publicly, is in relations of hospitality.³ But it is not our personal feelings,

³ *Hospitium* was a relationship entered into usually by individuals with one another, but sometimes by individuals with communities or communities with communities, in which each party owed the other certain services. The relation once formed was hereditary and was under divine protection. Since each owed the other support in any endeavour, it required courage on the part of the Rhodians to oppose Eumenes.

A.U.C.
665

non animi nostri, patres conscripti, nos, sed rerum natura, quae potentissima est, disiungit, ut nos liberi etiam aliorum libertatis causam agamus, reges serva omnia et subiecta imperio suo esse velint. Utcumque
 7 tamen res sese habet, magis verecundia nostra adversus regem nobis obstat quam ipsa disceptatio aut nobis impedita est aut vobis perplexam delibera-
 8 tionem praebitura videtur. Nam si aliter socio atque amico regi et bene merito hoc ipso in bello, de cuius praemiis agitur, honos haberi nullus posset, nisi liberas civitates in servitutem traderetis ei, esset
 9 deliberatio anceps ne aut regem amicum inhonoratum dimitteretis, aut decederetis instituto vestro gloriamque Philippi bello partam nunc servitute tot
 10 civitatum deformaretis; sed ab hac necessitate aut gratiae in amicum minuendae aut gloriae vestrae egregie vos fortuna vindicat. Est enim deum benignitate non gloriosa magis quam dives victoria vestra, quae vos facile isto velut aere alieno exsolvat.
 11 Nam et Lycaonia et Phrygia utraque et Pisidia omnis et Chersonesus, quaeque circumiacent Europae,
 12 in vestra sunt potestate, quarum una quaelibet regi adiecta multiplicare regnum Eumenis potest, omnes vero datae maximis eum regibus aequare. Licet
 13 ergo vobis et praemiis belli ditare socios et non decedere instituto vestro et meminisse, quem titulum praetenderitis prius adversus Philippum, nunc adversus¹ Antiochum belli, quid feceritis Philippo

¹ aduersus 5: om. B.

¹ The region around ancient Troy and a district farther inland were both called Phrygia.

conscript Fathers, which part us, but the nature of things, which is all-powerful, so that we who are free are pleading the cause of liberty for others as well, while kings wish everything to be enslaved and subject to their will. Yet, however that may be, the fact is rather that it is our respect for the king which stands in our way than that the question itself is either involved for us or likely, as it seems, to cause you any hesitancy in deciding. For if in no other way could honour be paid an allied and friendly king and one who had rendered good service in this very war, about whose compensation there was debate, than by your giving free cities into servitude to him, the discussion would be of doubtful issue, lest you either send away a friendly king without his meed of honour or depart from your tradition and stain the glory won in the war with Philip by now enslaving so many cities; but from this necessity of either diminishing your recompense to a friend or detracting from your own fame, fortune offers you a splendid escape. For by the bounty of heaven, your victory brings not more glory than riches, and it may easily discharge what you may call your debt. For Lycaonia and both Phrygias¹ and all Pisidia and the Chersonesus, all of which adjoin Europe, are in your power, and any of these, bestowed upon the king, can greatly enlarge the kingdom of Eumenes, and the gift of them all can make him equal to the greatest of kings. It is possible for you both to enrich your allies with prizes of war and not to depart from your tradition and to remember what banner you displayed before you earlier in the war against Philip and now in the war against Antiochus—what you have done after

- A.U.C. 565 14 victo, quid nunc a vobis, non magis quia fecistis, quam quia id vos facere decet, desideretur atque expectetur. Alia enim aliis et honesta et probabilis
 15 est causa armorum; illi agrum, hi vicos, hi oppida, hi portus oramque aliquam maris ut possideant; vos nec cupistis haec antequam haberetis, nec nunc, cum orbis terrarum in ditione vestra sit, cupere
 16 potestis. Pro dignitate et gloria apud omne humanum genus, quod vestrum nomen imperiumque iuxta ac deos immortales iam pridem intuetur, pugnavistis. Quae parare et quaerere arduum fuit, nescio an tueri
 17 difficilius sit. Gentis vetustissimae nobilissimaeque vel fama rerum gestarum vel omni commendatione humanitatis doctrinarumque tuendam ab servitio regio libertatem¹ suscepistis; hoc patrocinium receptae in fidem et clientelam vestram universae
 18 gentis perpetuum vos praestare decet. Non, quae in solo² antiquo sunt, Graecae magis urbes sunt quam coloniae earum, illinc³ quondam profectae in Asiam; nec terra mutata mutavit genus aut mores.
 19 Certare pio certamine cuiuslibet bonae artis ac virtutis ausi sumus⁴ cum parentibus quaeque civitas
 20 et conditoribus suis. Adistis Graeciae, adistis⁵ Asiae urbes plerique; nisi quod longius a vobis

¹ libertatem ς : ad libertatem *B*.

² solo *Crévier*: solo modo *Br*.

³ illinc ς : *om.*, *spat. rel.* *B*.

⁴ sumus ς : *simus B*.

⁵ adistis ς : ad istas *B*.

¹ I have chosen to express rather the obligation of the patron to the client, as the Romans understood it, than the relation of the client to the patron.

³ The Rhodians claimed to be of Dorian descent but are speaking here of the Greek colonies generally.

defeating Philip and what to-day, not more because B.C. 189 you did so formerly than because it becomes you to do so, is desired and expected at your hands. One nation has one and another nation has another just and reasonable cause for taking up arms; those that they may possess lands, these cities, these towns, these harbours and some strip of coast; you have neither desired these things before you had them, nor now, when the world is in your hands, can you desire them. For the sake of standing and fame in the eyes of the whole world, which for long now has regarded your name and empire as next after those of the immortal gods, you have waged your wars. What it was difficult to get and acquire, it may be perhaps still more difficult to keep. You have undertaken to defend against slavery to a king the liberty of a most ancient people, most famed either from the renown of its achievements or from universal praise of its culture and learning; this championship of a whole people taken under your protection and guardianship¹ it befits you to guarantee for ever. The cities which are on the ancient soil are not more Greek than their colonies, which once set out from there for Asia; nor does a change of habitation change race or manners. We² have dared to vie in reverent rivalry in every noble art and virtue with our fathers, every city too with its founders. Many of you have visited the cities of Greece, have visited the cities of Asia³; except that we are

² Such a statement would certainly have been true in the time of Livy but less certainly in the time of Antiochus. Since it is not in Polybius, it may be regarded, along with the whole of the eulogy of Greek culture, as part of Livy's rhetorical embroidery.

- A.U.C. 565 21 *absumus, nulla vincimur alia re. Massilienses, quos, si natura insita velut ingenio terrae vinci posset,¹ iam pridem efferassent tot indomitae circumfusae gentes, in eo honore, in ea merito dignitate audimus² apud vos esse, ac si medium umbilicum Graeciae*
 22 *incolerent. Non enim sonum modo linguae vestitumque et habitum, sed ante omnia mores et leges et ingenium sincerum integrumque a³ contagione*
 23 *accolarum servarunt. Terminus est nunc imperii vestri mons Taurus; quidquid intra eum cardinem est, nihil longinquum vobis debet videri; quo arma vestra pervenerunt, eodem ius hinc profectum perveniat. Barbari, quibus pro legibus semper dominorum imperia fuerunt, quo gaudent, reges⁴ habeant; Graeci suam fortunam, vestros animos*
 25 *gerunt.⁵ Domesticis quondam viribus etiam imperium amplectebantur; nunc imperium, ubi est, ibi ut sit perpetuum, optant; libertatem vestris tueri*
 26 *armis satis habent, quoniam suis non possunt. At enim quaedam civitates cum Antiocho senserunt. Et aliae prius cum Philippo, et cum Pyrrho Tarentini; ne alios populos enumerem, Carthago libera cum suis*
 27 *legibus est. Huic vestro exemplo quantum debeatis, videte, patres conscripti; inducetis in animum negare Eumenis cupiditati, quod iustissimae irae vestrae*
 28 *negastis. Rhodii et in hoc⁶ et in omnibus bellis quae in illa ora gessistis, quam⁷ forti fidelique vos*

¹ posset ς : posset et B.

² audimus ς : audiuiimus B.

³ a ς : om. B.

⁴ reges ς : regis B.

⁵ gerunt ς : om. B.

⁶ et in hoc *edd. vet.*: om. B ς .

⁷ quam ς : om. B.

farther distant from you, we are inferior in no B.C. 189 respect. The people of Massilia, whom, if inborn nature could be conquered, so to speak, by the temper of a land, so many untamed tribes around them would long ago have barbarized, we hear are held in the same respect and deservedly paid the same honour by you as if they dwelt in the very navel of Greece. For they have kept not only the sound of their speech along with their dress and their outward appearance, but, before all, their manners and laws and character pure and free from the corruption of their neighbours. The Taurus mountains are now the limit of your empire; nothing, whatever lies within this boundary, should seem remote to you; where your army had made its way, thither too let your law advance and make its way. Let barbarians, to whom the mandates of their lords have ever served as laws, since in that they take delight, have kings; Greeks have their own fortunes, but souls like yours. Once they even possessed empire, as a result of their own might; now they hope that empire may abide for ever where it now resides; they hold it sufficient to maintain liberty through your arms since they cannot through their own. But, someone may say, some cities sided with Antiochus. True, and others formerly with Philip and the Tarentines with Pyrrhus; not to mention other peoples, Carthage is free and enjoys its own laws. See, conscript Fathers, how much you owe to your own precedent; you will persuade yourselves to refuse to the ambition of Eumenes what you have refused to your own wrath, just as it may be. Both in this and in all wars which you waged in our region, we Rhodians leave it to you to judge

A.U.C.
565

opera adiuerimus, vestro iudicio relinquimus. Nunc in pace consilium id adferimus, quod si comprobaritis, magnificentius vos victoria usos esse quam vicisse omnes existimaturi sint." Apta magnitudini Romanae oratio visa est.

- LV. Post Rhodios Antiochi legati vocati sunt. Ii vulgato petentium veniam more errorem fassi
 2 regis obtestati sunt patres conscriptos ut suae potius clementiae quam regis culpa, qui satis superque poenarum dedisset,¹ memores consulerent; postremo pacem datam a L. Scipione imperatore, quibus
 3 legibus dedisset, confirmarent auctoritate sua. Et senatus eam pacem servandam censuit,² et paucos post dies populus iussit. Foedus in Capitolio cum Antipatro principe legationis et eodem fratris filio regis Antiochi est ictum.
 4 Auditae deinde et aliae legationes ex Asia sunt. Quibus omnibus datum responsum decem legatos more maiorum senatum missurum ad res Asiae

¹ dedisset ς : dedissent B.

² censuit ς : om. B.

¹ The somewhat cool reception accorded the Rhodian argument, in contrast with that given Eumenes, prompts one to examine both its rhetorical quality and its sources. The version of it in Polybius (XXII. v-vi) is less rhetorical and puts greater emphasis upon the facts and the political aspects of the argument. His final comment, quite unlike that of Livy, is that it was "temperate and fair" (*μετρίως καὶ καλῶς*). The speech in Livy seems skilfully constructed, with its shrewd emphasis upon the original policy of the Romans (cf. the note to liii. 28 above), its artful playing upon Roman sympathies in the eulogy of Greek culture and the clever suppression of Rhodian ambitions, in sharp contrast with the method of Eumenes. We note too that while Eumenes took into account the possibility that the Romans would remain permanently

with what courageous and constant aid we have B.C. 189 assisted you. Now in peace we offer you this counsel, and if you approve it all men will think that you have used your victory more gloriously than you have won it." This speech seemed well adapted to the high position of Rome.¹

LV. After the Rhodians the ambassadors of Antiochus were summoned. In the usual fashion of envoys begging for mercy, they confessed the wrongdoing of the king and implored the conscript Fathers, in arriving at a decision, to pay regard to their own clemency rather than to the error of the king, who had paid a sufficient and more than sufficient penalty; finally, they requested that they would ratify by their authority the peace proposed by Lucius Scipio the commander, on the terms which he had stated. And the senate voted that this treaty of peace should be ratified, and a few days later the assembly so ordered. The treaty was struck on the Capitoline with Antipater the chief of the embassy and likewise the son of the brother of King Antiochus.

Then other embassies also from Asia were heard.² To all these the same reply was given, that the senate, in the fashion of their forefathers, would send ten commissioners to adjudge cases arising in Asia in Asia, the Rhodians take it for granted that this will not be the case.

² In addition to the major parties interested in the settlement, Antiochus, Eumenes and the Rhodians, there were apparently many other cities and states which neither Polybius nor Livy finds it necessary to mention by name, but whose claims had to be considered. One can easily imagine that the senate would feel somewhat bewildered, since war and victory had previously been simple problems in their experience.

A.U.C.
565

5 disceptandas componendasque; summam tamen hanc fore,¹ ut cis Taurum montem, quae intra² regni Antiochi fines fuissent, Eumeni attribuerentur praeter Lyciam Cariamque usque ad Maeandrum 6 amnem; ea ut civitatis Rhodiorum essent; ceterae civitates Asiae quae Attali stipendiariae fuissent eadem³ vectigal Eumeni penderent; quae vectigales Antiochi fuissent, eae liberae atque immunes 7 essent. Decem legatos hos decreverunt: Q. Minucium Rufum L. Furium Purpurionem Q. Minucium Thermum Ap. Claudium Neronem Cn. Cornelium Merulam M. Iunium Brutum L. Aurunculeium L. Aemilium Paulum P. Cornelium Lentulum P. Aelium Tuberonem.

LVI. His, quae praesentis disceptationis essent, libera mandata; de summa rerum senatus constituit. Lycaoniam omnem et Phrygiam utramque et Mysiam, quam Prusia rex ademerat, restituit regi et Milyas⁴ et Lydiam Ioniamque⁵ extra ea oppida quae libera fuissent quo die cum rege Antiocho

¹ fore 5: om. B.

² montem quae intra 5: montemque B.

³ eadem 5: eadem B.

⁴ quam Prusia rex ademerat, restituit regi et Milyas et M. Müller XXXVIII. xxxix. 15 ff. conferens: regias silvas et BM5.

⁵ Lydiam Ioniamque Crévier: lydiae ioniaeque BM5.

¹ The terms of the final settlement, conforming in general to the principle here stated, are given in XXXVIII. xxxviii. It is obvious that an effort has been made to satisfy both Eumenes and the Rhodians.

² The first three of these had been consuls. If the otherwise unknown Cn. Cornelius Merula is a mistake for Cn. Corn. Merenda, all the others had been praetors. In contrast to the habit of including former commanders in commissions sent to Greece, the Scipios and Acilius are—rather pointedly

and to settle differences; yet the general principle a.o. 189 followed would be this, that on this side of the Taurus mountains the districts which had been within the boundaries of the kingdom of Antiochus should be assigned to Eumenes with the exception of Lycia and Caria as far as the Meander river; that these should be given to the Rhodian state; that the other cities of Asia which had paid tribute to Attalus should also be tributaries to Eumenes; that those which had been vassals of Antiochus should be independent and free from tribute.¹ They chose these ten commissioners: Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpurio, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Appius Claudius Nero, Gnaeus Cornelius Merula, Marcus Junius Brutus, Lucius Aurunculeius, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Aelius Tubero.²

LVI. In matters pertaining to any discussion to be conducted on the spot, they were given a free hand; as to the chief issue involved, the senate made the decision. All Lycaonia and both Phrygias and Mysia, which King Prusias had taken from him, were restored to the king, as well as the Milyae³ and Lydia and Ionia with the exception of those cities which had been free on the day when the battle with King Antiochus had been fought, and,

perhaps—omitted, as is Flamininus. The return of Paulus from Spain has not been mentioned before, and his name may have been added later as a concession to the Scipionic party. The commission is then undistinguished for either reputation or demonstrated capacity, though I hesitate to say that this was deliberate.

³ Livy uses the name of the people for the name of the district. The reading here adopted has been restored from XXXVIII. xxxix. 16.

A.U.C.
565

- 3 pugnatum est, et nominatim Magnesiam ad Sipylum, et Cariam, quae Hydrela appellatur, agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem, et castella
4 vicosque ad Maeandrum amnem et oppida, nisi quae libera ante bellum fuissent, Telmessum item nominatim et castra Telmessium, praeter agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset. Haec omnia quae
5 supra sunt scripta regi Eumeni iussa dari. Rhodiis Lycia data extra eundem Telmessum et castra Telmessium¹ et agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset; hic et ab Eumene et Rhodiis exceptus.²
6 Ea quoque iis pars Cariae data quae propior Rhodum insulam trans Maeandrum amnem est, oppida, vici, castella, agri, qui ad Pisidiam vergunt, nisi quae eorum oppida in libertate fuissent pridie, quam cum Antiocho rege in Asia pugnatum est.
7 Pro his cum gratias egissent Rhodii, de Solis urbe, quae in Cilicia³ est, egerunt: Argis et illos, sicut sese, oriundos esse; ab ea germanitate fraternam sibi cum iis caritatem esse; petere hoc extraordinarium munus ut eam civitatem ex servitute
8 regia eximerent. Vocati sunt legati regis Antiochi actumque cum iis est nec⁴ quicquam impetratum

¹ praeter . . . Telmessium ς : om. B.² hic . . . exceptus *Ruperti*: haec . . . excepta B ς .³ Cilicia ς : lycia B.⁴ iis est nec ς : his est ne B.¹ The eastern part of Caria north of the Meander river.² He was probably in some way related to the Ptolemies of Egypt, and the special treatment given this district may be due to the fact that it was regarded as their property.³ These dispositions imply some minute geographical knowledge of Asia Minor, and one wonders how the Romans

by name, Magnesia near Sipylus and Caria which they call Hydrela¹ and the territory of Hydrela which faces Phrygia, and the forts and villages along the Meander river and the towns, except those which had been free before the war; Telmessus also and the camp of the Telmessii, except the land which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus.² All these places which have been written down above were given to King Eumenes. The Rhodians were given Lycia except the same Telmessus and the camp of the Telmessii and the land which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus; this district was made an exception in the case of both Eumenes and the Rhodians. Also that part of Caria which is nearer to the island of Rhodes across the Meander river was given to them, and the towns, villages, forts and lands which face Pisidia except those of the towns which had been free the day before the battle had been fought with King Antiochus in Asia.³

When the Rhodians had expressed their thanks for all this, they thus spoke regarding the city of Soli, which is in Cilicia: they also, like themselves, were sprung from Argos; by reason of this kinship there was a fraternal affection between them; they asked this exceptional favour, that they might rescue this city from slavery to the king. The ambassadors of King Antiochus were summoned, and the question was taken up with them but was not settled,

acquired it. The presumable sources, in the absence of large-scale and accurate maps, were the ambassadors from the Asiatic states and possibly Cotta. The distinction of towns free on the day of and the day before the battle is hard to explain, but is obviously some kind of compromise, possibly suggested by the Rhodians.

testante foedera¹ Antipatro, adversus quae ab Rhodiis non Solos, sed Ciliciam peti et iuga Tauri transcendi. Revocatis in senatum Rhodiis, cum quanto opere tenderet² legatus regius exposuissent, adiecerunt si utique eam rem ad civitatis suae dignitatem pertinere censerent Rhodii, senatum omni modo expugnaturum pertinaciam legatorum.

10 Tum vero impensius quam ante Rhodii gratias egerunt, cessurosque sese potius arrogantiae Antipatri quam causam turbandae pacis³ praebituros dixerunt. Ita nihil de Solis mutatum est.

LVII. Per eos dies quibus haec gesta sunt, legati Massiliensium nuntiarunt L. Baebium praetorem in provinciam Hispaniam proficiscentem ab Liguribus circumventum, magna parte comitum caesa vulneratum ipsum cum paucis sine lictoribus Massiliam perfugisse et intra triduum exspirasse. Senatus ea re audita decrevit uti P. Iunius Brutus, qui propraetor in Etruria esset, provincia exercituque traditis⁴ uni, cui videretur ex legatis, ipse in ulteriorem Hispaniam proficisceretur, eaque ei provincia esset. Hoc senatus consultum litteraeque a Sp. Postumio praetore in Etruriam missae sunt, pro-

¹ foedera 5: foedere B.

² tenderet 5: tenderent B.

³ turbandae pacis 5: turbandas paucis B.

⁴ traditis 5: tradito B.

¹ The phraseology of the treaty had reference to the western end of the Taurus range, where it approaches the sea in Cilicia. Soli was beyond this point, and any assumption by the Romans of the right to dispose of the city would be a violation of the treaty even before it was concluded.

² Justice seems to have been entirely on the side of Antiochus in this instance.

Antipater citing the treaty¹ in opposition to what the Rhodians had said, to the effect that not Soli but Cilicia was their object, and that they were crossing the ridges of Taurus. The Rhodians were recalled to the senate, and when they had explained how forcibly the king's ambassador had argued, they went on to say that if the Rhodians believed that this matter absolutely concerned their national honour, the senate would in every way overcome the resistance of the ambassadors. Then indeed the Rhodians thanked them more lavishly than before, and said that they would rather yield to the stubbornness of Antipater than offer any reason for disturbing the settlement. So no change was made with respect to Soli.²

LVII. During the period in which this took place, ambassadors from the Massilienses reported that Lucius Baebius the praetor, who was on his way to Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligures, that a large part of his retinue had been killed and himself wounded, that he with a few attendants but no lictors had taken refuge at Massilia and had died within three days.³ The senate, on receiving this news, voted that Publius Junius Brutus, who was propraetor in Etruria, should turn over his province and army to whichever of his lieutenants he saw fit, that he himself should set out for Farther Spain and that this should be his province. This decree of the senate and these despatches were forwarded by the praetor Spurius Postumius to Etruria, and

³ The pacification of Liguria (xlvi. 1 above) was apparently not complete after all, and the senate was wise in refusing Minucius a triumph. Easy triumphs over Liguria were notorious in the time of Cicero (*Brutus* 255).

A.U.C.
868

fectusque in Hispaniam est P. Iunius propraetor.

- 5 In qua provincia prius aliquanto quam successor
veniret,¹ L. Aemilius Paulus, qui postea regem
Persea magna gloria vicit, cum priore anno haud
prospere rem gessisset,² tumultuario exercitu collecto
6 signis collatis cum Lusitanis pugnavit. Fusi fuga-
tique hostes; caesa decem octo milia armatorum;
duo milia trecenti capti et castra expugnata. Huius
victoriae fama tranquilliores in Hispania res fecit.³
7 Eodem anno ante diem tertium Kal. Ianuarias
Bononiam Latinam coloniam ex senatus consulto L.
Valerius Flaccus M. Atilius Serranus L. Valerius⁴
8 Tappo triumviri deduxerunt. Tria milia hominum
sunt deducta; equitibus septuagena⁵ iugera, ceteris
colonis quinquagena sunt data. Ager captus de
Gallis Bois fuerat,⁶ Galli Tuscos expulerant.
9 Eodem anno censuram multi et clari viri petie-
runt. Quae res, tamquam in se parum magni certa-
minis causam haberet, aliam contentionem multo⁷
10 maiorem excitavit. Petebant T. Quinctius Flami-
ninus P. Cornelius Cn. F. Scipio L. Valerius Flaccus

¹ ueniret ς : uenit et B.

² gessisset ς : gessisset et B.

³ hispania res fecit ς : hispaniam recepit B.

⁴ F.M.A.S.L.V. ς : om. B.

⁵ septuagena ς : septuaginta B.

⁶ fuerat ς : fuerant B.

⁷ multo ς : om. B.

¹ Cf. XLIV. xl. ff.

² Cf. xlv. 7 above.

³ In xlv. 10-11 this board was created to establish the new colonists in Placentia and Cremona, and in xlvii. 2 provision

Publius Junius the propraetor departed for Spain. B.C. 189
In this province, shortly before his successor arrived,
Lucius Aemilius Paulus, who afterwards won great
glory by the defeat of King Perseus,¹ after fighting
unsuccessfully² the previous year, collected an
emergency army and engaged in pitched battle
with the Lusitani. The enemy was routed and put
to flight; eighteen thousand armed men were
killed; two thousand three hundred were taken
prisoners and the camp was captured. The fame of
this victory made things quieter in Spain.

In the same year, on the third day before the
Kalends of January, a Latin colony was established
at Bononia by authorization of the senate, by Lucius
Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Atilius Serranus and Lucius
Valerius Tappo, the board of three appointed for
the purpose.³ Three thousand men were placed
there; the cavalrymen received seventy *iugera* each,
the rest of the colonists fifty each.⁴ The land had
been taken from the Gallic Boii; the Boii had expelled
the Etruscans.

In the same year many distinguished men sought
the censorship. As if it contained within itself too
little cause for rivalry, it gave rise to a far greater
controversy.⁵ The candidates were Titus Quinctius
Flamininus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son of
Gnaeus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Porcius

was made for two colonies rather than one in this region.
Nothing was said there about the composition of the board, and
Livy has either confused accounts or tacitly enlarged the
jurisdiction of the board.

⁴ The allotments are unusually large, and the normal ratio
of 2 : 1 is not maintained.

⁵ The censorship was in itself a great prize, but at this time
it was also the occasion for the prosecution of Glabrio.

A.U.C.
665

M. Porcius Cato M. Claudius Marcellus¹ M'. Acilius Glabrio, qui Antiochum ad Thermopylas Aetolosque
 11 devicerat. In hunc maxime, quod multa congiaria
 distribuerat,² quibus magnam partem hominum
 12 obligarat, favor populi se inclinabat. Id cum aegre
 paterentur tot nobiles, novum sibi hominem tantum
 praeferrere, P. Sempronius Gracchus et C. Sempronius
 Rutilus, tribuni plebis,³ ei diem dixerunt, quod
 pecuniae regiae praedaeque aliquantum captae in
 Antiochi castris neque in triumpho tulisset, neque
 13 in aerarium rettulisset. Varia testimonia legatorum
 tribunorumque militum erant. M. Cato ante alios
 testis conspiciebatur; cuius auctoritatem perpetuo
 14 tenore vitae partam toga candida elevabat. Is
 testis, quae vasa aurea atque argentea castris captis
 inter aliam praedam regiam vidisset, ea se in tri-
 15 umpho negabat vidisse. Postremo in huius maxime
 invidiam desistere se petitione Glabrio dixit quando,
 quod taciti indignarentur nobiles homines, id aequae
 novus competitor intestabili periurio incesseret.

LVIII. Centum milium multa irrogata erat; bis

¹ Marcellus *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *gellius* B^c.

² congiaria distribuerat *Wesenberg*: congiaria habuerat
 B: concilia (consilia) habuerat *ε*.

³ tribuni plebis *edd. vet.*: *om.* B^c.

¹ A *novus homo* was one whose ancestors had never held any of the major magistracies. The feeling of the aristocracy was probably less bitter in the second century than it was in Livy's time, but it existed then, and the fact that the chief witness, Cato, was another new man did not ease the tension. Speeches of Cato against Glabrio were known to the Romans.

² In XXXVI. xxxvi. 2 the senate seems to take it for granted that not all the booty would be turned in to the treasury (see the note). It would seem then that the accusation in this case was based on political rather than moral grounds and that it was arranged to keep Acilius out of the race for the censorship.

Cato, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Manius Acilius B.C. 189
 Glabrio, who had defeated Antiochus and the Aetolians at Thermopylae. Towards him particularly, because he had distributed many largesses, by which he had placed a large part of the voters under obligation, the support of the people inclined. When so many nobles were angered that a new man¹ should be so far preferred to them, Publius Sempronius Gracchus and Gaius Sempronius Rutilus, tribunes of the people, laid an accusation against him, that some of the king's money and much of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus had neither been displayed by him in the triumph nor turned in to the treasury.² Conflicting evidence was given by his lieutenants and military tribunes. Marcus Cato was conspicuous as a witness before the rest; but the honour gained in the whole course of his life was diminished by his candidate's dress.³ In his testimony he said that vessels of gold and silver which he had seen in the captured camp along with the rest of the royal booty he had not seen in the triumph. Finally, in order chiefly to make Cato unpopular, Glabrio said that he would drop his candidature, since, while the nobles kept silent, though indignant, it was attacked with detestable⁴ perjury by one who was as much a new man as himself.

LVIII. The fine proposed was one hundred thou-

¹ A *candidatus* was so called because he appeared during a campaign wearing a *toga candida*. Cato's testimony was partially discredited because the conviction of Acilius would improve Cato's own chances of election.

² The full force of *intestabilis* is difficult to convey, since it refers to conduct or character which disqualify the individual from serving as a witness or making a will, that is, from performing the normal functions of a citizen.

A.U.C.
565

- de ea certatum est; tertio, cum de petitione destitisset reus, nec populus de multa suffragium ferre
 2 voluit, et tribuni eo negotio destiterunt. Censores T. Quinctius Flaminius M. Claudius Marcellus creati.
 3 Per eos dies L. Aemilio Regillo, qui classe praefectum Antiochi regis devicerat, extra urbem in aede Apollinis cum senatus datus esset, auditis rebus gestis eius, quantis cum classibus hostium dimicasset, quot¹ inde naves demersisset aut cepisset, magno consensu patrum triumphus navalis est decretus.
 4 Triumphavit Kal. Februariis. In eo triumpho undequingenta coronae aureae translatae sunt, pecunia nequaquam pro² specie regii triumphi, tetrachma Attica triginta quattuor milia ducenta, cistophori
 5 centum triginta duo milia trecenti. Supplicationes deinde fuerunt ex senatus consulto, quod L. Aemilius in Hispania³ prospere rem publicam gessisset.
 6 Haud ita multo post L. Scipio ad urbem venit; qui ne cognomini fratris cederet, Asiaticum se appellari voluit. Et in senatu et in contione de rebus ab se gestis disseruit. Erant qui fama id maius bellum quam difficultate rei fuisse interpretarentur: uno memorabili proelio debellatum, gloriamque eius

¹ quot 5: quod B.² pro J. F. Gronovius: tanta pro B5.³ in Hispania edd. vet.: in graecia B: in graecia hispania (aut in hispania) 5.

¹ Roman procedure required three separate sessions of the court, at the third of which the verdict was rendered. If one party failed to appear at this session, the case was automatically forfeited to the other side and no verdict was, as a rule, given.

² These speeches seem to be the customary arguments in favour of the grant of a triumph. Since a general with the

sand *asses*; the case was twice argued¹; the third time, since the defendant had ceased to be a candidate and the people was unwilling to cast a ballot regarding the fine, the tribunes too dropped the case. Titus Quinctius Flaminius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were chosen censors.

About this time Lucius Aemilius Regillus, who with his fleet had conquered the prefect of King Antiochus, having been granted an audience by the senate in the temple of Apollo outside the City, when they had heard his achievements, with how great fleets of the enemy he had fought and how many of their ships he had sunk or captured, with the complete approval of the Fathers was granted a naval triumph. He triumphed on the Kalends of February. In that triumph forty-nine golden crowns were displayed, money in no wise comparable to the magnificence of the triumph, to wit, thirty-four thousand two hundred Attic four-drachma pieces and one hundred thirty-two thousand three hundred *cistophori*. Then there were supplications decreed by the senate because Lucius Aemilius had administered affairs successfully in Spain.

Not long thereafter Lucius Scipio came to the City; and, that he might not be inferior to his brother in the matter of names, he requested that he be saluted as *Asiaticus*. Both in the senate and before the assembly² he made speeches about his accomplishments. There were some who tried to make out that that war had been magnified by rumour beyond its actual difficulty: that it had been brought to a conclusion by a single noteworthy battle, and

imperium could not cross the *pomerium*, it is uncertain what assembly Livy means.

A.U.C.
565

8 victoriae praecloratam ad Thermopylas esse. Ceterum vere¹ aestimanti Aetolicum magis ad Thermopylas bellum quam regium fuit; quota enim parte² virium suarum ibi dimicavit Antiochus? In Asia totius Asiae steterunt vires ab ultimis Orientis finibus³ omnium gentium contractis auxiliis.

LIX. Merito ergo et diis immortalibus quantus maximus poterat habitus est honos, quod ingentem victoriam facilem etiam fecissent, et⁴ imperatori triumphus est decretus. Triumphavit mense intercalario pridie Kal. Martias. Qui triumphus spectaculo oculorum maior quam Africani fratris eius fuit, recordatione rerum et aestimatione periculi certaminisque non magis comparandus quam si imperatorem imperatori aut Antiochum ducem Hannibali⁵ conferres. Tulit in triumpho signa militaria ducenta viginti quattuor, oppidorum simulacra centum triginta quattuor, eburneos dentes mille ducentos triginta unum, aureas coronas ducentas triginta⁴ quattuor, argenti pondo centum triginta septem milia quadringenta viginti, tetrachmum Atticorum ducenta viginti quattuor⁵ milia, cistophori trecenta

¹ uere ς : om. B.

² quota enim parte ς : quod enim partae B.

³ ultimis Orientis finibus *Weissenborn*; ultimis orientis B: ultimi (aut ultimis orientis) ς .

⁴ et ed. *Frobeniana* 1535: om. B ς .

⁵ uiginti quattuor ς : quattuordecim B.

¹ It is difficult to form an intelligent opinion from Livy as to this question. From Livy's narrative it seems as if the Aetolians had done little in this battle and too little in the war to warrant a triumph over them. On the other hand, it is true that the king had only a small fraction of his forces

that the glory of that victory had been robbed B.C. 189 of distinction beforehand at Thermopylae. But to one who judges aright the battle at Thermopylae was with the Aetolians rather than the king; for with what part of his own forces had the king fought there?¹ In Asia the strength of all Asia from the farthest parts of the east and of all nations stood as his assembled army.

LIX. Justly, therefore, was both all possible honour paid to the immortal gods because they had made this notable victory even easy, and a triumph awarded to the general. He triumphed during the intercalary² month on the day before the Kalends of March. This triumph was more dazzling to the eyes than that of his brother Africanus, but in the recollection of what had transpired and in the judgment of the danger and struggle no more to be compared with it than if you were to put side by side general with general or Antiochus with Hannibal as a commander. He carried in the triumph two hundred and twenty-four military standards, representations of towns to the number of one hundred and thirty-four, of ivory tusks one thousand two hundred and thirty-one, two hundred and thirty-four golden crowns, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty pounds of silver, two hundred and twenty-four thousand Attic four-drachma pieces, three hundred and twenty-one thousand seven hundred *cistophori*, one hundred and

there. But this discredits Thermopylae rather than Magnesia as a decisive engagement.

² When the civil and the natural year were too far apart, an additional (intercalary) month was inserted between February and March. The length of this extra month varied.

A.U.C.
565

viginti unum milia septuaginta, nummos aureos Philippeos centum quadraginta milia, vasorum argenteorum—omnia caelata erant—mille pondo et quadringenta viginti tria, aureorum mille pondo viginti tria. Et duces regii, praefecti, purpurati duo et triginta ante currum ducti. Militibus quini viceni denarii dati, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. Et stipendium militare et frumentum duplex post triumphum datum; proelio in Asia facto duplex dederat. Triumphavit anno fere post quam consulatu abiit.¹

LX. Eodem fere tempore et Cn. Manlius consul in Asiam et Q. Fabius Labeo praetor ad classem venit. Ceterum consuli non deerat cum Gallis belli materia. Mare pacatum erat devicto Antiocho, cogitantique Fabio, cui rei potissimum insisteret, ne otiosam provinciam habuisse videri posset, optimum visum est in Cretam insulam traicere. Cydoniatae bellum adversus Gortynios Gnosiosque gerebant, et captivorum Romanorum atque Italici generis magnus numerus in servitute esse per totam insulam² dicebatur. Classe ab Epheso profectus cum primum Cretae litus attigit, nuntios circa civitates misit ut armis absisterent captivosque in suis quaeque urbibus agrisque conquisitos reducerent, et legatos mitterent ad se, cum quibus de rebus ad Cretenses pariter Romanosque pertinentibus ageret. Nihil magnopere

¹ abiit 5: abit B.

² insulam 5: italiam B.

¹ These gold coins, of a probable value of twenty drachmae, were first minted by Philip I, and retained his name.

² This is said to be the first triumph at which the donative to the troops had been in silver; copper was the usual medium.

forty thousand gold coins of Philip,¹ one thousand four hundred and twenty-three pounds of silver vases—all were embossed—and one thousand and twenty-three pounds of vases of gold. Also thirty-two royal generals, prefects and nobles, were led before his car. To the soldiers twenty-five *denarii* each² were given, twice that amount to each centurion, thrice to each trooper. And double the pay and rations of a soldier were given them after the triumph; after the battle was fought in Asia he had given them the double allowance.³ He triumphed about a year after he had retired from the consulship.

LX. About the same time both the consul Gnaeus Manlius arrived in Asia and the praetor Quintus Fabius Labeo came to the fleet. Now a cause for war upon the Galatians was not lacking to the consul. The sea was peaceful after the defeat of Antiochus, and as Fabius reflected as to what occupation he should choose by preference, lest he have a year of idleness in office, it seemed best to cross to the island of Crete. The people of Cydonia were waging war on the Gortynians and Gnosians, and a great number of prisoners, both Romans and men of the Italian race, were said to be in slavery throughout the whole island. Setting out with the fleet from Ephesus, as soon as he landed on the Cretan coast, he sent messengers around to the cities to tell them that they should lay down their arms and should restore the prisoners, gathered up by each in his own city and lands, and should send ambassadors to him to treat of matters which concerned equally the Cretans and the Romans. The Cretans did not

³ Soldiers received their pay annually, their rations monthly. This bonus, then, amounts to a considerable sum.

ea Cretenses moverunt; captivos praeter Gortynios nulli reddiderunt. Valerius Antias quattuor milia 6 captivorum, quia belli minas timuerint,¹ ex tota insula reddita² scripsit; eamque causam Fabio, cum rem nullam aliam gessisset, triumphus navalis 7 impetrandi ab senatu fuisse. A Creta Ephesum Fabius redit; inde tribus navibus in Thraciae oram missis ab Aeno et Maronea praesidia Antiochi deduci iussit, ut in libertate eae civitates essent.

¹ timuerint *Bekker*: timuerunt *B*γ.

² reddita γ: redditas *B*.

pay much attention to this: none of them restored B.C. 189 the prisoners except the Gortynians. Valerius Antias wrote that four thousand prisoners were given back from the whole island because they feared the threat of war; and that this was the explanation of the fact that Fabius, although he had done nothing else, received a naval triumph from the senate. From Crete Fabius returned to Ephesus; thence he sent three ships to the coast of Thrace and ordered the garrisons of Antiochus withdrawn from Aenos and Maronea, that these states might be at liberty.¹

¹ These cities seem to have been overlooked before, possibly because the withdrawal of Antiochus from Lysimachia was a *de facto* abandonment of his territorial claims in Europe.

LIBER XXXVII PERIOCHA

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO consul legato Scipione Africano fratre (qui se legatum fratris futurum dixerat, si ei Graecia provincia decerneretur, cum C. Laelio, qui multum in senatu poterat, ea provincia dari videretur) profectus ad bellum adversus Antiochum regem gerendum, primus omnium Romanorum ducum in Asiam¹ traiecit. Regillus adversus regiam classem Antiochi feliciter pugnavit ad Myonnesum Rhodis iuvantibus. Filius Africani captus ab Antiocho patri remissus est. Victo deinde Antiocho ab L. Cornelio Scipione adiuvante Eumene, rege Pergami, Attali filio, pax data est ea condicione ut omnibus provinciis citra Taurum montem cederet. L. Cornelius Scipio, qui cum Antiocho debellaverat, cognomine fratri exaequatus Asiaticus appellatus. Colonia deducta est Bononia. Eumenis, quo iuvante Antiochus victus erat, regnum ampliatum. Rhodis quoque qui et ipsi iuverant quaedam civitates concessae. Aemilius Regillus, qui praefectos Antiocho navali proelio devicerat, navalem triumphum deduxit. M'.² Acilius Glabrio de Antiocho, quem Graecia expulerat, et de Aetolis triumphavit.

¹ Asiam Rossbach: Asia codd.

² M'. edd.: M. codd.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXVII

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO the consul, with his brother Scipio Africanus as his lieutenant (Africanus had said that he would be his brother's lieutenant if the province of Greece were assigned to him, although it seemed that that province would be given to Gaius Laelius, who was very influential in the senate), started out to conduct the war against King Antiochus, and was the first of all Roman generals to cross to Asia. Regillus fought successfully with the royal fleet of Antiochus off Myonnesus, with the aid of the Rhodians. The son of Africanus was captured by Antiochus and restored to his father. When Antiochus had been conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, with the assistance of Eumenes, son of Attalus and king of Pergamum, peace was granted him under this condition, that he should withdraw from all the districts on this side of the Taurus mountains. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had finished the war with Antiochus, was put on a level with his brother by the surname of "Asiaticus." A colony was established at Bononia. Eumenes, by whose aid Antiochus had been defeated, had his kingdom enlarged. To the Rhodians too, who had also co-operated, certain cities were granted. Aemilius Regillus, who had defeated the prefects of Antiochus in a naval battle, celebrated a naval triumph. Manius Acilius Glabrio triumphed over Antiochus, whom he had driven out of Greece, and over the Aetolians.

INDEX OF NAMES

(The References are to Pages)

- ABYDUS, 316 (*bis*), 324 (*bis*), 330
 Acarnania, 190 (*bis*), 192, 194 (*bis*),
 202, 222; Acarnan, 52, 190, 218,
 424; Acarnanes, 76, 190, 192, 194
 Achala, 186, 222, 346; Achael, 34 (*et*
passim); Achael Phthiotae, 302;
 Achaicum bellum, 104; Achaicum
 concilium, 244, 252, 256, 258
 Acilius Glabrio, M'. (*consul*, 191 B.C.),
 26, 68, 154, 156, 158, 162, 164, 166
 (*bis*), 194, 196, 224, 244, 248, 254,
 260, 262, 276, 286, 294, 296 (*bis*), 298
 (*bis*), 302 (*bis*), 304, 310, 426 (*bis*),
 434, 470 (*bis*), 480; Aciliani libri, 40
 Acoriae, 74
 Adramytteum, 346 (*bis*), 350
 Aegaeum mare, 278, 330
 Aegina, 276
 Aeginium, 196
 Aegium, 72, 136, 256
 Aegyptus, 38, 164, 298, 300
 Aelius Paetus, Sex. (*consul*, 198 B.C.,
ensor, 194 B.C.), 22; Aelius Tuberus,
 P., 462; Aelius Tuberus, Q. (*III vir*
coloniae deducendae, 193 B.C.), 24
 Aemilius Lepidus, M. (*aedile*, 193 B.C.,
praetor, 191 B.C., *consul*, 187 and
 168 B.C., *pontifex maximus*, 180 B.C.),
 28, 68, 158, 160, 296, 414, 430 (*bis*);
 Aemilius Lepidus, M. (*son of the*
above), 414, 416; Aemilius Paulus,
 L. (*aedile*, 193 B.C., *praetor*, 192 B.C.,
consul, 182 and 168 B.C.), 28, 68,
 168 (*bis*), 428, 462, 468, 472; Aemi-
 lius Regillus, L. (*praetor*, 190 B.C.),
 284, 294, 296, 300, 330 (*ter*), 332, 334,
 338, 340 (*bis*), 344 (*bis*), 346, 366
 (*bis*), 374, 380, 384, 428, 472, 480
 (*bis*); Aemilius, M. (*brother of the*
above), 352; Aemilius Scaurus,
 L., 380
 Aenus, 478; Aemil, 386
 Aeolia, 48, 312, 324, 340, 362, 392
 Aethalia, 328 (*bis*)
 Aetolia, 32, 64, 66, 92, 96, 142, 166,
 190 (*bis*), 194, 202 (*bis*), 204, 222
 (*bis*), 242, 248, 296 (*quater*), 426, 432,
 436 (*ter*), 438, 440, 450; Aetolus,
 132, 424; Aetoli, 32 (*et passim*);
 Aetolicum bellum, 324, 306, 424,
 450, 474; Aetolicus tumultus, 103
 Africa, 6, 54, 122, 160, 178, 306, 364,
 388, 450 (*bis*); Africa bella, 414;
 Africi elephantii, 404; Africanus,
see Cornelius Scipio Africanus, P.
 Agrigentum, 160; Agrigentinus, 248
 Alexamenus, 100, 102, 104 (*bis*), 106
 (*quater*), 108, 110 (*bis*)
 Alexander (*the Great*), 42 (*bis*), 136, 150
 (*bis*); (*of Acarnania*), 52, 190, 218,
 220; (*of Megalopolis*), 136; his son,
 136
 Alexandria Troas, 132, 390
 Amarynthia (Diana), 112
 Ambracia, 198
 Amiternum, 60, 262
 Amphissa, 304, 306 (*bis*), 310 (*ter*)
 Amynander, 134, 136 (*ter*), 172, 176,
 180 (*ter*), 186, 198, 238, 242, 248 (*ter*)
 Andania, 246
 Andronicus, 330
 Andros, 220
 Antiochia, 38
 Antiochus, 32 (*et passim*); Antiochus
 (*son of the above*), 38, 44 (*bis*)
 Antipater, 408, 420, 460, 466 (*bis*)
 Antium, 162
 Antonius, Q., 384
 Aous (river), 208
 Apama, 136 (*bis*)
 Apamea, 44 (*bis*), 342, 418 (*bis*)
 Aperantia, 252, 254

INDEX OF NAMES

- Aphrodisias, 353
 Apollo, 146, 190, 473; Apollinæus
 ludl, 300
 Apollodorus, 144
 Apollonia, 68, 304
 Apollonius, 356
 Appenninus, 203
 Apulia, 294, 296, 438
 Apustius Fullo, L. (*IIIvir coloniae
 deducendae*, 193 B.C.), 24 (*bis*);
 Apustius, L., 300, 336
 Arabes, 408
 Aradil, 138
 Arcas, 72
 Archidamus, 138, 140
 Argi, 464; Argivi, 54; Argivus ager
 74
 Ariarathes, 380, 406
 Aricia, 24
 Ariminum, 62
 Aristoteles, 220
 Arretium, 8, 60
 Asia, 46 (*et passim*); Asiatici Graeci,
 208; Asiaticus, *see* Cornelius Scipio
 Asiaticus, L.
 Asopus (*river*), 224
 Aspendii, 354
 Atalante, 112, 114
 Athamania, 136, 172, 198 (*bis*), 248
 (*bis*), 254, 434; Athamanes, 134, 136,
 176, 186, 188, 196, 198 (*quater*), 238
 Athenae, 88, 112, 114, 116, 144;
 Athenienses, 94 (*bis*), 96, 220, 306
 (*ter*), 306 (*bis*), 330; Attica terra,
 204; Attica tetrachma, 426, 472,
 474
 Atilius Serranus, A. (*praetor*, 193 B.C.),
 28, 58 (*ter*), 62, 64, 110, 160, 190, 194,
 220 (*bis*), 276; Atilius Serranus, M.
 (*IIIvir coloniae deducendae*, 190 B.C.),
 428, 468
 Atinius Labeo, C. (*praetor*, 190 B.C.),
 284, 294, 296
 Atrax, 184, 194
 Attalus (*Pergami rex*), 462; Attalus
 (*son of the above*), 66 (*bis*), 342, 346,
 348 (*bis*), 416
 Aulia, 113, 142, 146, 148
 Aurelius Cotta, M., 440, 442
 Aurunculeius, L. (*praetor*, 190 B.C.),
 284, 294, 302, 428 (*bis*), 462
 Aventinus, 24
 BACCHUM, 352
 Baebius Tamphilus, M. (*praetor*, 192
 B.C.), 28, 58 (*ter*), 60, 64, 68, 156,
 180, 186, 194 (*bis*), 196, 226; Baebius
 Dives, L. (*praetor*, 189 B.C.), 420,
 436, 438, 466
 Bargyliticus sinus, 338
 Barnosthenes, 76, 86
 Bastetani, 426
 Bellona, 266
 Bithynia, 362 (*bis*)
 Boarium forum, 130
 Boeotia, 144, 146, 170 (*bis*), 174, 190,
 202, 218, 232, 450; Boeoti, 134 (*bis*),
 144, 174, 218 (*bis*), 446
 Boli, 8 (*bis*), 10, 14 (*bis*), 16, 32, 62,
 118 (*bis*), 156, 260, 264 (*bis*), 266 (*bis*),
 268 (*ter*), 270 (*ter*), 286, 294 (*bis*),
 426, 468; *see* Galli Boli
 Bononia, 468, 480
 Brachyllas, 134, 170
 Brundisium, 68, 68, 168, 164, 300 (*bis*)
 Brutti, 58 (*bis*), 66, 118 (*bis*), 120, 122,
 158, 294, 296 (*bis*), 300, 438
 Bullinus ager, 178
 Byzantinus, 388
 CADUSII, 156, 142
 Caecilius Metellus, L., 438 (*bis*); Caecilius
 Metellus, Q. (*consul*, 206 B.C.),
 20
 Caellimontana porta, 22
 Caicus (*river*), 342, 396
 Callidromum, 204, 206, 208, 214
 Callipolis, 244
 Calydon, 190
 Campus (*Martius*), *see* Mars
 Canae, 284, 314 (*bis*), 324 (*bis*)
 Capitulum, 60, 122 (*bis*), 258, 298 (*bis*),
 460
 Cappadocia, 380; Cappadoces, 406
 Capua, 24
 Caria, 336, 354, 462, 464 (*bis*); Carca,
 408
 Carinae, 262
 Carthago, 458; Carthaginenses, 160,
 166 (*ter*), 450
 Caryae, 76
 Carystii, 112 (*bis*)
 Castrum Novum, 162
 Caudina clades, 80
 Celtiberi, 30
 Cenaeum, 220 (*bis*)
 Cephalania, 190, 194, 330, 436;
 Cephalanæ, 330
 Ceres, 262
 Chaeronia, 132, 190

INDEX OF NAMES

- Chalciocoeos, 110
 Chalcia, 48, 88, 100 (*bis*), 110 (*bis*), 112 (*quingies*), 114, 116 (*bis*), 132, 142 (*bis*), 144 (*ter*), 146, 148, 150, 164, 188, 172 (*ter*), 178, 188, 194, 200 (*bis*), 216, 220 (*bis*), 246, 388;
 Chalcidensis, 140, 144, 188; Chalcidenses, 114, 132, 134, 182, 424; Chalcidicus Euripus, 114
 Chariclitus, 356, 360 (*bis*)
 Chersonesus, 274, 386, 394, 454
 Chios, 284, 330 (*bis*), 368 (*ter*), 380, 382; Chii, 278, 368
 Cianus, 110
 Cierium, 184, 198
 Cilicia, 38, 334, 354, 464, 466; Cilices, 408
 Cissus, 278, 380
 Claudius Nero, O. (*consul*, 207 B.C., *ensor*, 204 B.C.), 260; Claudius Nero, Ap., 462; Claudius Marcellus, M. (*consul*, 196 B.C., *ensor*, 189 B.C.), 10, 16, 20 (*bis*), 470, 472; Claudius Lepidus, M., 432; Claudius, Ap. (*tribune of the soldiers*, 191 B.C.), 186, 188, 194, 326, 344; Claudius (probably the annalist Quadrigarius), 40
 Cleopatra, 298
 Cleoptolemus, 188
 Clytus, 190, 192 (*bis*)
 Cnidus, 334; Cnidia navis, 354
 Colophon, 366 (*bis*), 372, 380; Colophonii, 366 (*bis*); Colophonium oppidum, 366
 Conribillo, 84
 Corax, 244, 302, 304
 Corcyræ, 178, 222, 274
 Corinthus, 48, 72, 98, 114, 116, 246; Corinthiacus sinus, 222
 Cornelius Cethegus, O. (*consul*, 199 B.C., *ensor*, 194 B.C.), 22 (*bis*); Cornelius Cethegus, M. (*consul*, 204 B.C.), 260, 262; Cornelius Lentulus, P., 462; Cornelius Mammula, A. (*praetor*, 191 B.C.), 68, 158 (*bis*), 296 (*bis*), 300, 432; Cornelius Merula, Cn. (*the cognomen is probably a mistake and should be Merenda; praetor*, 194 B.C.), 462; Cornelius Merula, L. (*consul*, 193 B.C.), 8, 14, 16 (*ter*), 20 (*bis*), 28, 56; Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, L. (*consul*, 190 B.C.), 68, 222, 284, 290, 292 (*ter*), 298, 300, 310, 362, 430, 432, 436, 442, 448, 460, 472, 480 (*ter*); Cornelius Scipio Africanus, P. (*consul*, 206 and 194 B.C., *ensor*, 198 B.C.), 6, 26, 28 (*bis*), 40, 42 (*bis*), 44, 150 (*bis*), 260, 284, 292 (*bis*), 298, 300, 306 (*quater*), 308 (*ter*), 310, 312, 362, 388 (*bis*), 390, 392 (*ter*), 396, 420 (*ter*), 422, 432, 474, 480 (*ter*); Cornelius Scipio (*son of the above*), 432, 480; Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio Nasica, P. (*praetor*, 194 B.C., *consul*, 191 B.C.), 2 (*bis*), 4, 24, 26, 68 (*bis*), 154 (*bis*), 156, 162, 260 (*ter*), 262, 264 (*bis*), 266 (*ter*), 268, 270 (*bis*), 286, 294, 468; Cornelia gens, 28; *see* Scipiones (*i.e.*, Africanus and Asiaticus)
 Coronea, 170; Coroneus ager, 218; Coronensis ager, 218
 Corycum (*promontory*), 376
 Corycus, 280, 312, 326, 328
 Corylenus, 352
 Coa, 334; Coa quinquermis, 354; Coae naves, 322
 Cotton, 352
 Crannon, 184, 200
 Crater, 72
 Cremona, 428; Cremonenses, 428
 Creta, 72, 476 (*bis*), 478; Cretensis, 82, 168, 412; Cretenses, 80, 82 (*bis*), 84, 404, 406, 410, 476, 478
 Creusa, 222
 Cusibia, 64
 Cybele, *see* Idaea mater
 Cyclades, 276
 Cydoniatae, 476
 Cyme, 324
 Cynosephalae, 180
 Cyretiae, 186, 194
 Cyrtii, 406, 408
 DARDANIA, 354
 Dahae, 136, 142, 398, 406
 Damocritus, 34 (*bis*), 98, 104, 232, 298, 426
 Dardani, 432
 Dardanus, 316, 394
 Dassaretii, 186, 194
 Delium, 146 (*bis*), 170
 Delos, 276 (*ter*), 278
 Delphi, 190
 Demetrias, 48, 88, 90 (*ter*), 100 (*bis*), 102, 110, 116 (*bis*), 124, 126 (*bis*), 128 (*bis*), 132, 134, 142, 164, 172, 188 (*bis*), 200, 220, 250, 252
 Demetrius, 258

INDEX OF NAMES

- Diana, 112, 226
 Dicæarobus, 34, 36, 238
 Digitus, Sex. (*praetor*, 193 B.C.), 2, 6 (*bis*), 300
 Diocles, 100, 102
 Diophanes, 246 (*ter*), 248 (*ter*), 250, 346, 348 (*bis*), 350 (*bis*)
 Dolopia, 252, 254, 434
 Domitius Ahenobarbus, On. (*consul*, 192 B.C.), 26, 28, 58, 60 (*bis*), 62, 118 (*bis*), 150, 264, 402
 ECHEDREMUS, 308 (*bis*)
 Elaea, 38, 278, 324, 340, 342 (*ter*), 344 (*bis*), 346, 352 (*bis*), 396 (*bis*), 420; Elaeenses, 346
 Elaeus, 346
 Elatia, 216 (*bis*), 302
 Elia, 244; Elei, 168 (*bis*), 244, 256, 258
 Elymaei, 136, 142, 406, 408
 Ephesus, 38, 40 (*bis*), 44 (*bis*), 46, 150, 212, 220 (*bis*), 272, 276 (*bis*), 284 (*bis*), 318, 320 (*bis*), 326, 328 (*bis*), 330, 332, 334 (*bis*), 338, 340, 352, 364, 366, 378, 380, 420 (*bis*), 424 (*bis*), 476, 478
 Epicrates, 330 (*ter*), 334
 Epirus, 68, 168, 170, 202, 304; Epirota, 238; Epirotæ, 76, 168 (*ter*), 176, 258 (*bis*)
 Eretria, 112; Eretrienses, 112
 Ericinium, 196
 Eritium, 194
 Erythrae, 314, 368; Erythraei, 278; Erythraea terra, 284, 326; Erythraea trirèmes, 324
 Etruria, 178, 438, 466 (*bis*); Etrusca praeda, 62
 Euboea, 112, 146 (*ter*), 148, 150, 174 (*bis*), 178, 202, 220 (*bis*); Euboica talenta, 422
 Eubulidas, 424
 Eudamus, 326, 334, 354 (*bis*), 356 (*bis*), 358, 360 (*quater*), 366, 372, 374, 376
 Eumenes, 38 (*ter*) (*et passim*)
 Eunomus, 116
 Euphanes, 168
 Euripus, 112, 114 (*bis*), 132, 142, 144, 148 (*ter*), 178, 182
 Europa, 32, 52, 96, 104, 122, 132, 134, 136 (*bis*), 138, 164, 176, 208, 316, 390 (*bis*), 392, 422, 442, 448, 454
 Eurotas (*river*), 84, 86, 106
 Eurylochus, 90 (*bis*), 92, 100 (*bis*), 102, 110, 116, 126, 252
 Eurymedon (*river*), 354
 Euthymidas, 110 (*ter*), 112, 114
 FABIVS Labeo, Q. (*praetor*, 189 B.C.), 430, 436, 476 (*bis*), 478 (*bis*); Fabius Pictor, Q. (*praetor*, 189 B.C.), 430 (*bis*), 436, 438
 Fabricius Luscinus, O., 300
 Februariae kalendae, 472
 Feralia, 18
 Flaminius, O., (*praetor*, 193 B.C.), 4, 6, 18, 58, 64, 160
 Flumentana porta, 22, 60
 Fontinalis porta, 28
 Formiae, 60
 Fregellana turma, 390
 Fregennae, 162
 Frentinum castrum, 24
 Fulvius Centumalus, M. (*praetor*, 192 B.C.), 28, 58, 60, 66, 68 (*bis*); Fulvius Nobilior, M. (*praetor*, 193 B.C., *consul*, 189 B.C.), 20, 58, 64, 158, 222, 266, 430 (*bis*), 432, 436; Fulvius, On. (*praetor*, 190 B.C.), 284, 294
 Furius Purpurio, L. (*consul*, 196 B.C.), 122, 462; Furius Crassipes, M., 118
 GADES, 212
 Gallia, 58, 260, 428 (*bis*); Gallia Cisalpina, 178; Galli, 10, 12 (*ter*), 270, 428; Galli Boi, 268, 286, 468 (*bis*); Galli (*used for Gallograeci*), 342, 440, 476; Gallici animi, 312; Gallicum bellum, 122; Gallica bella, 366; Gallicacarpenta, 270; Gallica vasa, 270, 272
 Galli fanatici, 316
 Gallograecia, 312; Gallograeci, 398, 406 (*bis*), 408
 Genucius, M. (*tribune of the soldiers*, 193 B.C.), 14
 Geraesticus, 370, 372
 Gnosii, 476
 Gomphi, 196
 Gonni, 186 (*bis*)
 Gortynii, 476, 478
 Graecia, 26 (*et passim*); Graeci, 46, 118, 146, 240 (*bis*), 246, 458; Graeci Asiatici, 208; Graeci libri, 40; Graecae civitates, 46, 444; Graecae urbes, 46, 456
 Gyro, 184
 Jytheum, 34, 38, 70, 72 (*ter*), 74, 76 (*quaque*), 110

INDEX OF NAMES

HALICARNASSUS, 318, 334
 Hamilcar, 54, 56
 Hannibal, 36, 38, 40 (*ter*), 43, 54 (*bis*), 56 (*bis*), 122, 124 (*sepies*), 126, 136, 150 (*bis*), 172 (*bis*), 178 (*bis*), 202, 272, 292, 312, 356, 358 (*quater*), 360 (*bis*), 422, 424, 440, 474
 Hædrubal, 262
 Hellespontus, 66, 136, 276, 312, 314, 316 (*bis*), 324 (*bis*), 330, 344, 352, 366, 368 (*bis*), 380, 386, 388, 394, 396, 422, 448
 Helo, 64
 Heraclea, 204, 206 (*quinquies*), 210 (*bis*), 316, 324 (*quater*), 332, 334 (*ter*), 336, 344 (*bis*), 304; Heracleensis ager, 206, 226
 Heraclides, 388
 Hercules, 244
 Hermæum, 146
 Herodorus, 110, 112 (*bis*), 114
 Hierocles, 248
 Hiliurus, 30
 Hippolochus, 182, 184
 Hispania, 2 (*bis*), 4, 6 (*quater*), 18 (*bis*), 20, 24, 58, 62, 120, 158 (*bis*), 160, 222, 260, 266, 306, 364, 388, 426, 428, 436 (*bis*), 438 (*bis*), 466 (*bis*), 468 (*bis*), 472; Hispaniae, 58, 296, 438; Hispani, 32, 64
 Homerus, 346
 Hybristes, 330
 Hydrela, 464; Hydrellitanus ager, 464
 Hydruntum, 222
 Hypata, 206 (*bis*), 210, 234, 236 (*bis*), 240, 242 (*bis*), 244, 306 (*ter*), 308; Hypataei, 200; Hypatensis ager, 206
 Hyrcanus campus, 398
 IANUARIAE kalendæ, 468
 Iasus, 338; Iasenses, 338 (*bis*)
 Iberus, 2
 Idaea mater, 28, 260, 270, 286
 Iipa, 4
 Ilium, 126, 316, 396; Ilienses, 396
 Ilyrii, 208 (*bis*)
 Imbros, 126
 India, 92; Indici elephantii, 404
 Inlucia, 18
 Ionia, 46, 362, 392, 462
 Isidorus, 218, 220, 252
 Issaci, 336
 Italia, 6 (*et passim*); Italicae gentes, 42; Italicum genus, 476; Italici comœatus, 330

Itonia Minerva, 218
 Ingarius vicus, 60
 Iunius Brutus, M. (*praetor*, 191 B.C.), 68, 158, 160, 222, 262, 296, 462;
 Iunius Brutus, P. (*praetor*, 190 B.C.), 122, 284, 294, 296, 438, 466, 468
 Iuno Lucina, 298
 Iuppiter, 4, 28, 122 (*bis*), 158 (*bis*), 262; Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, 268
 Iuventas, 262
 LACEDAEMON, 50, 54, 76 (*ter*), 100, 102 (*bis*), 104, 110; Lacedaemonius, 34, 62, 330; Lacedaemonii, 12, 88, 102, 108, 110, 150, 204, 206, 210, 266; Lacones, 34, 36, 62, 74, 88 (*bis*), 124; Laconicus ager, 76; Laconicus puer, 108
 Lacinium, 274
 Laelius, O. (*praetor*, 196 B.C., *consul*, 190 B.C.), 26, 28, 284, 290, 292 (*bis*), 428 (*bis*), 438, 480
 Lamia, 128, 142, 144, 202, 232 (*bis*), 234, 242, 302, 304
 Lampæcus, 46, 50, 122, 390; Lampæceni, 46
 Lampiter, 382 (*bis*)
 Lannvium, 24
 Larisa, 180 (*bis*), 184, 186 (*quater*), 188 (*bis*), 194, 196, 198, 200; Larisæi, 182, 184 (*bis*), 186
 Latini, 402; Latinum nomen, 18 (*et passim*); Latina colonia, 24, 468; Latinae feriae, 298
 Lauretes, 298
 Lantumia, 298
 Lector, 396
 Leon, 144
 Leucas, 194, 204; Leucadii, 190
 Leuci, 74
 Licabrum, 64
 Licinius Crassus Dives, P. (*consul*, 206 B.C., *pontifex maximus*), 158, 260, 438 (*bis*); Licinius Lucullus, O., 262
 Ligures, 6, 8 (*ter*), 14, 28 (*bis*), 30, 58, 60, 62 (*ter*), 118 (*bis*), 160, 178, 264 (*ter*), 266, 268 (*series*), 294 (*bis*), 426, 466; Ligustinum bellum, 8
 Limnaeum, 196 (*ter*), 198
 Livius Salinator, M. (*consul*, 207 B.C., *ensor*, 204 B.C.), 280, 282; Livius Salinator, O. (*praetor*, 191 B.C.), 12, 68, 158, 160, 162, 274, 276 (*bis*), 280, 282, 296, 314 (*bis*), 324 (*ter*), 332

INDEX OF NAMES

- (*ter*), 334, 336 (*bis*), 338 (*bis*), 364, 384; *Livius Salinator*, C., 28
- Locri, 374
- Locris, 202
- Loryma, 340
- Ludi magni, 188
- Lusitani, 2, 422, 468; *Lusitanus* (*collective*), 4
- Lutatius Catulus, C. (*consul*, 242 B.C.), 438
- Lycaonia, 454, 462
- Lycia, 334 (*bis*), 336, 338, 340, 354, 360, 420, 462, 464; *Lycil*, 336, 408
- Lycos, 428
- Lycortas, 82
- Lydia, 418, 420, 462; *Lydi*, 408
- Lysimachia (*Thrace*), 44, 176, 252, 390 (*ter*), 386, 390 (*bis*), 394; (*in Greece*), 190
- MACEDONIA, 34, 54, 58, 66, 126, 138, 166, 176, 186, 252, 310, 312 (*bis*), 344, 364, 432; *Macedo*, 190, 330 (*bis*); *Macedones*, 42, 90, 112, 114, 150, 174, 180 (*ter*), 208, 212 (*bis*), 214 (*bis*), 232 (*ter*), 242 (*bis*), 248, 252, 404 (*bis*), 414; *Macedonicum bellum*, 208
- Macris, 326, 372, 374
- Maecander (*river*), 420, 424, 462, 464 (*bis*)
- Magnesia (*in Greece*), 202; *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, 278, 398, 418, 464; *Magnesia super Maeandrum*, 320 (*ter*), 420, 424
- Magnetes, 88, 90 (*quater*), 92 (*ter*), 116 (*quater*), 126; *Magnetaroches*, 90, 116, 126
- Maiae idus, 164; *Maiae nones*, 164
- Malca, 372, 276
- Mallicus sinus, 112, 138, 190, 200, 202, 204, 218, 224, 242, 306
- Malloca, 186, 194, 196
- Manlius Volso, On. (*praetor*, 195 B.C., *consul*, 189 B.C.), 26, 68, 430 (*bis*), 432, 436, 476; *Manlius Volso, A. (III vir coloniae deducendae*, 193 B.C.), 24
- Marcus, Q. et M. (*tribunes of the soldiers*, 193 B.C.), 14; *Marcus Ralla, Q. (II vir)*, 122
- Maronea, 478; *Maronitae*, 386
- Mars, 24, 28, 280, 422; *Martiae kalendae*, 174; *Martius campus*, 28
- Masinissa, 166 (*bis*), 364, 450
- Mamilla, 466; *Mamillianae*, 458, 466
- Medi, 136, 142, 406
- Medio, 190, 192 (*ter*), 194 (*bis*); *Medionii*, 192
- Megalesia, 262
- Megalopolis (*sive Megale polis*), 110, 246 (*bis*); *Megalopolitae*, 76; *Megalopolitanae*, 82, 126, 180, 196, 198, 248
- Megiste, 354, 360, 420
- Melaes (*river*), 226
- Meliboea, 196
- Menestae, 238
- Menippus (*envoy of Antiochus*), 92, 94, 144, 146 (*bis*), 148, 186; (*a Macedonian*), 190
- Memana, 374
- Memene, 244 (*bis*), 246 (*bis*); *Messenii*, 246 (*ter*)
- Metropolis, 184, 198
- Micythio, 112, 134, 146 (*bis*), 148
- Miletus, 334, 338
- Milyae, 462
- Minerva, 110, 126, 218, 316, 396
- Minnio, 46 (*quingies*), 408
- Minturnae, 162, 262
- Minnucius Thermus, Q. (*consul*, 193 B.C.), 8, 14, 16, 56, 60, 62, 264 (*bis*), 268 (*bis*), 294, 426 (*bis*), 462; *Minucius Rufus, Q. (consul*, 197 B.C.), 462; *Minucius, Q. et P. (tribunes of the soldiers*, 193 B.C.), 12; *Minucius, M. (III vir coloniae deducendae*, 193 B.C.), 118
- Mitylene, 352; *Mitylenaei*, 352; *Mitylenaeae naves*, 334
- Mnasilochus, 190, 192 (*ter*), 424
- Mutina, 10, 14
- Myndus, 334
- Myonnesus, 326, 368, 370 (*bis*), 372 (*bis*), 376, 380, 386, 428, 480
- Mysi, 406; *Mysia*, 462
- NABIE, 32, 34, 36 (*bis*), 50 (*bis*), 52, 58, 68, 74, 76, 88, 104, 150, 362, 364 (*bis*)
- Naevius, Q. (*III vir coloniae deducendae*, 193 B.C.), 118
- Naupactus, 32, 72, 190, 238, 244 (*ter*), 250, 252, 276, 302, 304
- Naustathmus, 382
- Neapolis, 274; *Neapolitani*, 46, 48
- Neocretes, 408
- Nicaea, 72
- Nicander (*an Aetolian*), 34 (*bis*), 36, 242 (*ter*); (*a pirate*), 320, 322 (*bis*)

INDEX OF NAMES

Noilba, 64
 Notium, 386
 Numidia, 160; Numidae, 30 (*ter*)
 Nursia, 298

OCMANUS, 212
 Octavius, Cn., 64, 194
 Octa, 202, 224, 232, 244, 304
 Oppius Salinator, L. (*praetor*, 191 B.C.),
 66, 68 (*bis*), 158, 160
 Oretani, 18, 64
 Oreus, 388
 Oriens, 474
 Ostia, 162

PACHYNUM, 160 (*bis*)
 Palatium, 260, 286
 Palinurus, 320
 Pamphilidas, 354, 356, 360, 362
 Pamphylia, 138, 354; Pamphylii, 408
 Pamphylus sinus, 354
 Panetolicum concilium, 94
 Panhormus, 318, 320 (*bis*), 322 (*bis*),
 372, 376
 Patara, 334 (*bis*), 338 (*bis*), 340, 360
 (*bis*), 362, 366, 420
 Patrae, 74, 222 (*bis*); Patrensis, 72
 Pausanias, 182
 Pausistratus, 284, 314, 316 (*ter*), 318
 (*ter*), 322 (*ter*), 326 (*bis*)
 Pella, 310
 Pellinaeum, 186, 196 (*bis*), 198
 Peloponnesus, 34, 52, 168, 204, 244,
 250, 274, 302, 460
 Peraea, 352, 354
 Pergamum, 38, 40, 44, 46, 314, 342
 (*bis*), 344, 346, 348 (*bis*), 350, 396,
 448, 480; Pergameni, 346; Perga-
 menus ager, 342, 350
 Perriaebia, 186, 194, 202, 252, 254
 Persae, 52, 204, 206
 Perseus, 468
 Pessinus, 28
 Phacium, 194
 Phaeneas, 128, 130 (*ter*), 238 (*bis*),
 240 (*ter*), 256
 Phaestum, 194
 Phalara, 128, 242
 Phaloria, 196
 Phanae, 278
 Pharae, 86
 Pharsalus, 186, 200
 Phaselis, 354 (*bis*), 360
 Pherae, 180 (*bis*), 182 (*bis*), 184, 186,
 200; Pheraei, 182 (*bis*), 184

Philippus (*Macedoniae rex*), 32 (*et*
passim); (*of Megalopolis*), 136 (*ter*),
 180, 196 (*bis*), 198, 248 (*bis*); (*of*
Syria), 408; Philippii nummi, 476
 Philo, 424
 Philopoemen, 70 (*bis*), 74 (*bis*), 76 (*bis*),
 78 (*bis*), 82 (*bis*), 84, 86, 88, 110, 134,
 150, 346
 Philotas, 324
 Phocaea, 278 (*ter*), 284, 314 (*bis*), 324
 (*bis*), 352, 382, 386; Phocaenenses,
 352, 384
 Phocia, 132, 190, 194, 202, 218, 256
 Phoenix, 38; Phoenices, 312
 Phoenicus (*Erythraea*), 284; (*Lycia*),
 336
 Phrygia, 312, 454, 462, 464; Phrygae,
 408
 Phrygius (*river*), 398 (*bis*)
 Phthiotae Achaei, 202
 Piconum, 60
 Piraeus, 144, 220, 274, 276 (*bis*), 330
 Pisae, 6, 8 (*bis*), 14; Pisanus ager, 60, 62
 Pisidia, 40, 464, 464; Pisidae, 38, 408
 Placentia, 428; Placentini, 428
 Plantius Hypsaesus L. (*praetor*, 189
 B.C.), 430, 436, 438
 Pleiae, 74, 76
 Polybius, 218
 Polyxenidas, 144, 180, 274, 276 (*bis*),
 280, 282, 284, 312, 316, 318 (*quater*),
 320 (*bis*), 322, 324, 326, 328, 334
 352, 366 (*ter*), 370, 372 (*bis*), 376,
 378, 420
 Porcius Cato, M. (*consul*, 195 B.C.,
legate of Glabrio, 191 B.C.), 2, 24,
 208 (*bis*), 214, 222 (*bis*), 470 (*bis*)
 Postumius Albinus, A. (*consul*, 242
 B.C.), 438; Postumius Albinus, Sp.
 (*praetor*, 189 B.C.), 430, 436, 466;
 Postumius, A., 194
 Prinne, 352
 Proerna, 200
 Prusias, 362 (*ter*), 364, 462
 Pteleum, 126
 Ptolemaeus (*Aegypti rex*), 38, 48, 164,
 166 (*bis*), 298; Ptolomaeus Tel-
 messius, 464 (*bis*)
 Punicum astu, 42; Punica navis, 282
 (*bis*); Punicae naves, 374, 280;
 Poenus, 124, 172
 Puteoli, 298
 Pygela, 320
 Pylae, 204
 Pyra, 244

INDEX OF NAMES

Pyrgi, 163

Pyrrhus, 43 (*bis*), 150 (*bis*), 458;

Pyrrhicæ castra, 76

Pythagoras, 84

QUINCTILES idus, 300 (*bis*)

Quinctius Flaminius, T. (*consul*, 198 B.C., *censor*, 189 B.C.), 26 (*bis*) (*et passim*); Quinctius Flaminius, L. (*consul*, 192 B.C.), 26 (*bis*), 28, 58, 60, 62, 118 (*bis*), 120 (*bis*), 156 (*bis*), 158, 164

Quirinalis flamen, 430, 436, 438

RAPHIA, 38

Reatini, 298

Regini, 46, 48, 274

Rhodos, 334 (*bis*), 340, 354 (*ter*), 360, 382, 464; Rhodius, 316, 330 (*bis*), 334, 366, 372; Rhodii, 284 (*et passim*); Rhodia classis, 326, 328 (*bis*), 334, 342, 352, 366 (*bis*), 372, 374; Rhodia navis, 358, 378; Rhodiae naves, 276, 284, 322, 324, 376 (*ter*), 420; Rhodiae triremes, 330; Rhodiae quadriremes, 332, 334

Rhoduntia, 206, 208, 214

Rhoeteum, 316, 396

Roma, 4 (*et passim*); Romanus (*substantive*), 98, 116, 144, 280, 316, 370; Romanus (*collective*), 206; Romani (*substantive*), 4 (*et passim*); populus Romanus, 16 (*et passim*); Romana amicitia, 34, 92; Romana societas, 36, 94, 96, 100, 110, 112, 116, 192, 250, 314; Romana dicio, 94; Romana virtus, 282; Romana magnitudo, 460; Romana cupiditas, 392; Romana pax, 242; Romanæ res, 116; Romanum nomen, 212; Romanum foedus, 38; Romanus mos, 240, 392; Romanum imperium, 128, 212, 362; Romana pars, 144, 148; Romani cives, 18 (*bis*), 120, 122, 160, 294; Romanus senatus, 442; Romanus exercitus, 4, 34, 174, 188, 196, 204, 364; Romani exercitus, 170; Romanus imperator, 88; Romani imperatores, 194, 364, 432; Romani duces, 480; Romanus legatus, 44, 434; Romani legati, 38, 44, 94, 96; Romanus miles, 60, 414, 448; Romani milites, 144, 148, 170, 234, 382; Romani pedites, 58 (*bis*), 436, 438 (*bis*); Romanus equitatus,

316, 402, 412, 428, 430; Romani equites, 436, 438; Romana legio, 296; Romanæ legiones, 248, 292, 294, 402, 414; Romana castra, 10, 194, 242, 396, 432; Romanum agmen, 28, 200; Romanum auxilium, 40; Romanum praesidium, 172, 188, 314; Romana arma, 272; Romana acies, 402; Romanaclassis, 70, 72, 190, 220, 274 (*bis*), 276, 278, 280, 282, 314, 342, 352 (*bis*), 370, 372, 382 (*bis*); Romanæ naves, 276, 278, 328; Romanæ quinqueremes, 334; Romani captivi, 476; Romanum bellum, 34, 50, 56, 126, 170, 174, 188, 272

SALGANEA, 112, 114 (*bis*), 132, 146, 148 (*bis*)

Salonius Barra, Q. (*praetor*, 192 B.C.), 28, 58

Same, 276

Samos, 320 (*bis*), 324, 326 (*bis*), 328 (*bis*), 330 (*ter*), 332, 338, 340, 342 (*bis*), 352 (*bis*), 354, 360, 366 (*quinquies*), 368, 370, 372 (*bis*), 380; Samia terra, 318, 320, 326, 328

Sardes, 342, 352, 362, 364, 380, 418, 420

Sardinia, 58, 120, 158, 160, 178, 296 (*ter*), 436, 438; Sardi, 438

Scarphea, 216

Sciathos, 126

Scipiones, 338, 364, 390; *see under* Cornelius

Scotusa, 182, 184, 200

Scribonius Curio, C. (*praetor*, 193 B.C.), 16; Scribonius Libo, L. (*praetor*, 192 B.C.), 28, 58, 60

Scyllaeum, 276

Seleucus, 44, 176, 312, 324 (*bis*), 340, 342, 346, 350, 352, 408, 418, 448

Sempronius Longus, Ti. (*consul*, 194 B.C.), 10, 12, 22, 224, 228; Sempronius Tuditanus, P. (*consul*, 204 B.C.), 260, 362; Sempronius Tuditanus, M. (*praetor*, 189 B.C.), 430, 436; Sempronius Gracchus, Ti., 310; Sempronius Gracchus, P. (*tribune of plebs*, 189 B.C.), 470; Sempronius Rutilius, O. (*tribune of plebs*, 189 B.C.), 470; Sempronius Blaesus, P. (*tribune of plebs*, 191 B.C.), 266; Sempronius, M. (*tribune of plebs*, 193 B.C.), 18

Servilius Caepio, Qn., 64

Sestus, 316

INDEX OF NAMES

- Sibyllini libri, 262
 Sicilia, 6 (*bis*), 46, 58, 64, 66 (*ter*), 68, 120, 158, 274, 294, 296 (*bis*), 430, 436 (*bis*), 438; Siculi, 438; Siculum frumentum, 296 (*bis*), 438
 Sicyon, 70
 Sida, 38, 354, 356; Sidetes, 138
 Sidonii, 138; Sidonia navis, 378
 Silana, 196
 Sinuessa, 162
 Sipylos, 278, 398, 418, 464
 Soli, 464, 466 (*bis*)
 Spercheus (*river*), 200, 302
 Stratus, 190 (*bis*)
 Sulpicius Galba, P. (*consul*, 200 B.C., *envoy to Asia*, 193 B.C.), 38, 40, 46, 48
 Suri, 142; *see* Syria
 Syphax, 364, 450 (*bis*)
 Syracusae, 46
 Syria, 38, 44, 46, 150, 212, 302, 312, 352, 420; Syri, 208, 408; Syriaca classis, 354, *see* Suri
 TAGUS (*river*), 64
 Tanagra, 146
 Tarentum, 66, 158; Tarentini, 46, 48, 458; Tarentini equites, 80, 82 (*bis*), 408
 Tarracina, 162, 262
 Taurus (*mountain*), 38, 392, 422, 442, 450, 458, 462, 466, 480
 Tegea, 76, 110
 Telemnastus, 82
 Telmessus, 464 (*bis*); Telmessius, 464 (*bis*); castra Telmessium, 464 (*bis*); Telmessicus sinus, 336
 Tempe, 188
 Tenos, 220
 Teos, 368, 370 (*bis*); Teli, 368, 370, 372 (*bis*)
 Terentius Varro, A., 432, 434
 Thaumaci, 200 (*bis*), 310
 Thebae, 112, 114, 170
 Thebes campus, 346
 Thermopylae, 202 (*bis*), 204, 220, 224 (*bis*), 232, 248 (*bis*), 274, 286, 470, 474 (*bis*)
 Thespienses, 222
 Thessalia, 88, 180, 182, 194 (*ter*), 202, 304, 310, 338; Thessali, 48, 88, 166, 172, 174 (*bis*), 180 (*bis*), 182 (*bis*), 196
 Thosae, 32, 92, 94, 98, 100, 110, 112, 114 (*bis*), 122, 130 (*bis*), 176, 200, 234, 236, 424
 Thracia (*and* Thraecia), 176, 252, 310 (*bis*), 312, 386, 432, 478; Thracae, 208 (*bis*), 404
 Thronium, 112, 114, 218
 Thyatira, 314, 352, 396, 398, 418
 Thyrraeum, 190, 192, 194; Thyrraenes, 194
 Tiberis, 22, 28, 60, 98, 120, 262, 426
 Tichius, 206, 208, 214
 Timasirates, 330
 Timon, 418
 Tiso, 72
 Titinius, M. et O. (*tribunes of plebs*, 193 B.C.), 22
 Toletum, 20, 64 (*bis*); Toletani, 64
 Tralli or Tealles, Illyrian tribe, 404, 406, 408
 Tralles or Teales, city of Caria, 420, 424
 Tricca, 196
 Trigemina porta, 28, 122
 Tripolis (*Laconia*), 76; Tripolitanus ager (*Thessaly*), 186
 Troas, *see* Alexandria
 Tuccius, M. (*praetor*, 190 B.C.), 122, 284, 294 (*bis*), 438
 Tusci, 294, 296, 468
 Tusculani, 298
 Tyndareum, 160
 Tyrii, 138
 VACCARI, 20
 Valerius Flaccus, L. (*consul*, 195 B.C., *legate of Glabrio*, 191 B.C.), 208 (*bis*), 214, 224, 236 (*ter*), 240, 428, 468 (*bis*); Valerius Tappo, L. (*praetor*, 192 B.C.), 28, 58, 66, 160 (*ter*), 428, 468; Valerius Messalla, M., 430 (*bis*); Valerius Antias (*the annalist*), 6, 218, 262, 264, 432, 478
 Vesellia, 64
 Vettones, 20, 64 (*bis*)
 Vibo, 118
 Victoria, 24; Victoria Virgo, 24
 Villius Tappulus, P. (*consul*, 199 B.C., *envoy to Asia*, 193 B.C.), 38, 40, 44, 54, 64, 116 (*quater*)
 Volturnum, 262
 XENO, 418
 Xenocrides, 112, 144, 148
 ZACYNTHUS, 248 (*bis*), 250, 252, 276
 Zeno, 92
 Zenxis, 408, 420 (*bis*)
 Zmyrna, 46, 50, 122, 390; Zmyrnaei, 46, 336, 452 (*bis*; Zmyrnaeae naves, 334

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